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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY

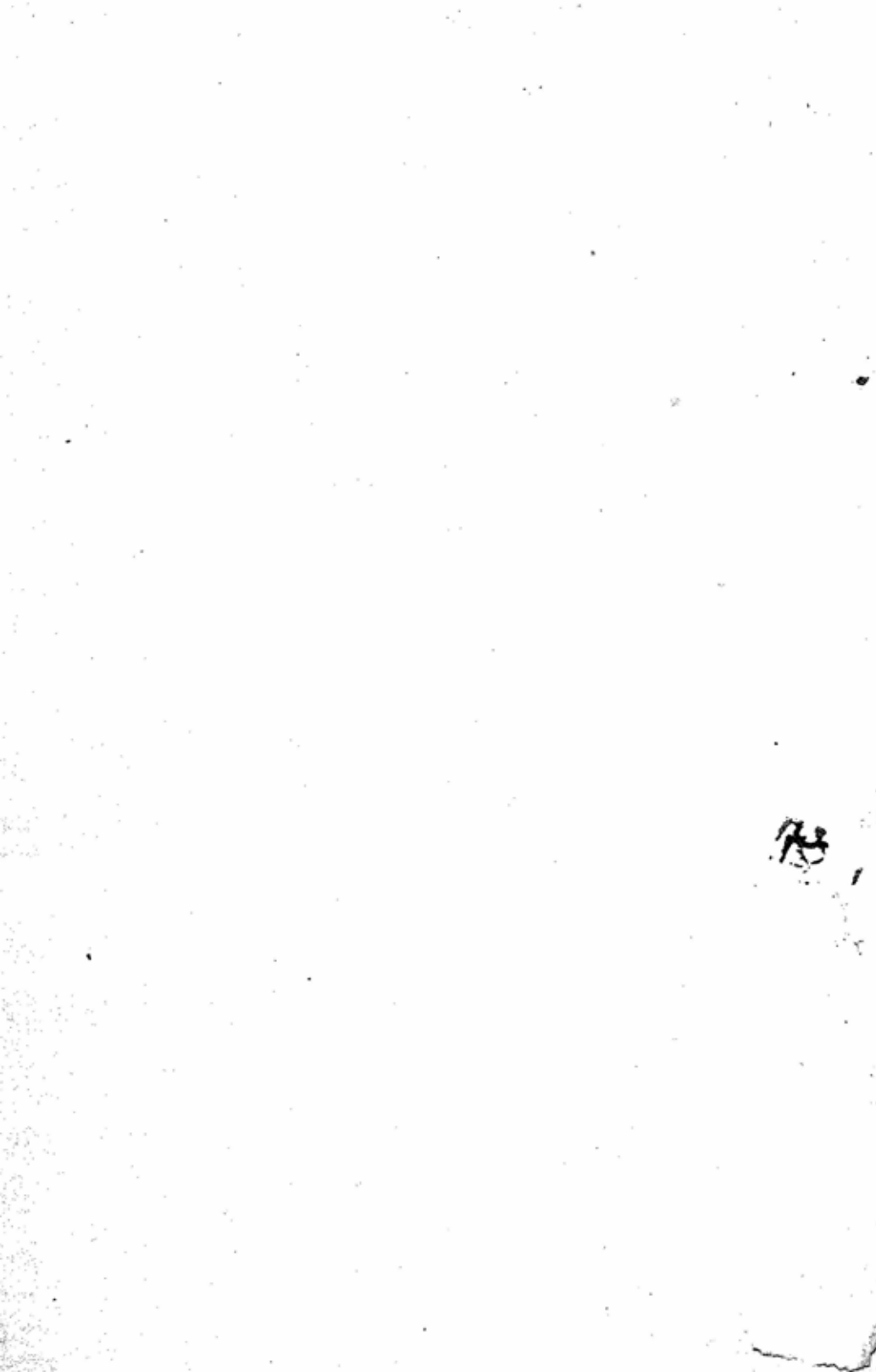
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TRANSACTIONS

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OF

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF JAPAN.

26626

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T.A.S.J.

—
VOL. XX.

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A517

YOKOHAMA:

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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

Meeting of October 21st, 1891.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, October 21, 1891, in the hall at No. 17, Tsukiji, at 4 p.m., Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that three new members had been elected,—Mr. Harold G. Parlett, Rev. W. I. Lawrance, and Mr. M. de Bunsen.

The Corresponding Secretary informed members that the Rules of the Society up to date had been printed, and copies could be had on application.

Thereafter several papers contributed by Dr. Joseph Edkins of Shanghai were read by Mr. Dixon. They were three in number, and entitled as follows: "Proofs that the Japanese Language belongs to the Ural Altaic Stem, and is more distantly related to European tongues;" "Pott's view of the Genealogical Relationship of the Japanese," and "Ancient Chinese Civilization."

A short discussion followed. Mr. Dixon remarked that in the edition of Chamber's Encyclopædia now appearing, an article from the pen of Dr. Legge did not concede that the existence of Parsian elements in Chinese Civilization had been proved.

The Chairman remarked that Chinese elements were to be traced in the *Kojiki*. Although he would not venture into Dr. Edkin's own field of roots, still he thought that many of the conclusions were a little fanciful. About the astronomical argument, it counted for much less than might appear on the surface. The evidence depended on a special rendering of an obscure and highly rhetorical passage in the *Shu Kien*, a work not written by a contemporaneous author. The interpretation of the text might well be questioned.

Dr. DIVERS endorsed the Chairman's remarks. The whole question seemed to be begged by the author of the paper. Mr. Droppers, taking up the references to the death of retainers and to Herbert Spencer, contended that Dr. Edkin's had proved nothing. The custom of retainers immolating themselves at their chief's grave was found even among the hill tribes of Africa. Its presence in China was as little significant as its absence would have been, for the custom was wide-spread. Herbert Spencer's explanation, that the retainers thought it only right to follow their chief into the Spirit land, seemed quite a good one; there was no need of postulating a Persian origin.

The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to the author for his interesting papers, after which the meeting adjourned.

Meeting of January 20th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tokyo, on January the 20th, 1892, at 4 p.m., the Vice-President, Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D., in the chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that the name of N. J. Hannen, Esq., for long President of the Society, had been added to the list of honorary members. Two ordinary members, Mr. R. de B. Layard, and Mr. F. J. Norman, and one life member, Mr. C. W. Low, M.B., had also been elected.

It was also announced that the President, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., who had just left for Europe on a year's visit, had previously placed his resignation in the hands of the Council. This resignation, however, the Council had decided not to accept, as they hoped so soon to welcome their President back again to Japan. This being all the business, the Vice-President vacated the chair, and J. M. Dixon, Esq., was called to fill it.

Dr. Geo. W. Knox then read extracts from a lengthy and valuable paper entitled "A Japanese Philosopher."

Dr. Knox also read a series of extracts from the Surugadai Miscellany, having apologized for the bald style of the translation, which does but scant justice to the musical flow of the original.

The translation now offered set forth the philosophy and religion, the ethics and politics, both theoretical and applied, and the copious

historical illustrations of this treatise. Other matter, as literary criticisms, discussions on poetry, and mere ornaments of Japanese style, had been eliminated.

Mr. Dixon expressed the greatest satisfaction with the paper which Dr. Knox had presented to the Society. The introduction presented in a clear cut and systematic form the salient points of the philosophical history of Japan, regarding which our ideas were apt to be a little hazy. Among the literary men of the Tokugawa period Muro Kyuso held a prominent place, and is mentioned with Hayashi Razan, Ogiu Sorai, and Arai Hakuseki. A few days ago Mr. Dixon was successful in finding his tomb. On the northern slope of the hill upon which the Gokokuji Temple stands, and close to the paling of the Imperial Cemetery in Otsukamura, Koishikawa, is situated a plot of ground known as *Jusha Suteba*—"The Place for casting away Chinese Scholars." The broad highway recently engineered to the new convict prison beyond, leads very close to the pathway conducting to this humble burying ground. Kyuso's tomb will be found on the extreme right, a simple stone pillar, about three feet high, of nearly square section, perhaps nine inches by eight. His wife's tomb, still more unassuming, rises on the left side of the husband's. She died in the 4th year of Horeki. Mr. Dixon hoped at the next meeting to be able to furnish members with a photograph of the spot.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of February 10th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Society was held at its rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, on February 10th, 1892, at 4 p.m., the Vice-President, Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D.D., occupying the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

The resignation as a Councillor of the Society of the Rev. Jas. L. Amerman was announced, and reference was made to his former valuable service, as President, and the great regret which the Society felt at his departure.

It was also announced that Dr. F. B. Stephenson, of the U. S. S. *Marion*, and Rev. J. H. De Forest, of Sendai, had joined the Society.

Some photographic prints of the grave of Kyusō, the "Japanese Philosopher," referred to at the last meeting, were handed about for inspection by those present.

Before proceeding to the paper of the day, Professor Dixon asked leave to add a note to his last contribution to the Society, "On the Habits of the Blind in Japan." One method of teaching the blind the written characters is worthy of notice. The figures are traced by the forefingers of the teacher on the back of his pupil, who is thus enabled to reproduce them again.

Professor Dixon then read a paper entitled, "Chōmei and Wordsworth: A Literary Parallel."

The CHAIRMAN thanked the reader of the paper for the interesting article with which he had furnished the meeting, and went on to speak of the great difficulty of comparing Western and Eastern literature. To the Chinese much of our Western literature seemed crude and unfinished. The Eastern attitude towards things was wholly different from ours, and the longer one resided there, the greater was one struck by the radical divergence. Nature to them was a kaleidoscope,—a series of change without rest. Chōmei had been criticized severely by late authors of the Confucian school as a mere aesthete, in whose teaching righteousness and benevolence were absent. His attitude towards nature was certainly a very contracted one. This might be said of Japanese literature generally; it circled round a few well threshed subjects. Take them away and nothing remained. For example, the moon was often referred to as a type of the transient in life, and the speaker quoted a poem to that effect. But what about the stars? He remembered no reference whatever to them. Possibly it might be that astronomy was avoided as its study, according to one writer, was always marked by an increase of wickedness. Wordsworth's feeling towards nature, and to man as a solitary, was wonderfully different from that of Chōmei. Dr. Knox quoted a passage from the *Excursion* to illustrate this point.

Professor Tison had been struck by the indifferentism expressed in the paper. It reminded him of the English poet mentioned by Emerson whose teaching amounted to this—that nothing really mattered very much. There appeared also much that reminded him of Rousseau.

Mr. Dixon said that Rousseau's teaching really was in singularly close sympathy with Japanese life.

The Note on Dr. Knox's paper announced on the postal cards was held over till another meeting, owing to its unexpected length and importance.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of March 9th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday the 9th of March, 1892, at 4 p.m., the Vice-President, Rev. George Wm. Knox, D.D., occupying the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that M. N. Wyckoff, Esq., had been appointed Treasurer in room of Dr. J. N. Seymour, resigned, and that Professor Milne had been elected a Councillor to fill the vacancy caused by Dr. Amerman's departure.

The Corresponding Secretary also informed the Meeting that the President, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., and F. V. Dickins, Esq., had been nominated as delegates to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in London in the autumn of the current year.

Rev. D. C. GREENE, D. D., was then called to the Chair to enable the Vice-President to read the literary contributions of the day.

The first paper was a "Note on Japanese Schools of Philosophy" by Professor T. HAGA, of the Imperial University, which was read by Dr. Knox. This was followed by "Comment on the foregoing note," and a paper on "Ki, Ri and Ten," by Dr. Knox.

Prof. INOUE, of the Imperial University, took part in the discussion which followed.

Dr. Divers addressed the meeting, not as an ontologist, for he had no special knowledge of these subjects. He represented his colleague, Mr. Haga, to whom the Society was greatly indebted. Mr. Haga had studied these subjects with zeal some years ago, merely as an amateur, and Dr. Divers had with difficulty prevailed upon him to follow up with a reasoned out discussion a chance critical remark he had happened to make.

As to two books, which had been shown, with elaborate figures representing existence in all its phases—a complete system of natural philosophy,—Dr. Divers suspected that Dr. Knox had read the ideas of modern philosophy into these ancient writings; they seemed to him mystical rather than philosophical. He admired the way in which the Japanese, in philosophy as in other departments, had borrowed only to improve. Jinsai appeared to him far ahead of Shushi—he only spoke as an outsider, however.

Rev. HUGH WADDELL protested against the flippant manner in which the audience had treated the circles and diagrams, illustrative of existence which had been shown to them. Surely it was a good thing that men in the Far East should busy themselves over these

things. A circle was a very good emblem of infinity. For him the Teishu school seemed to be closely allied with the idea of the Stoics to be pantheistic, to recognize a God in nature, animating nature; active but not extraneous.

Dr. DIVERS expressed his pleasure that Mr. Waddell had at length been drawn to express himself on these subjects. The Society had long been waiting for a philosophical contribution from his capable hand. Dr. Divers also expressed his surprise at the opinion Ohashi had formed of foreigners, as if they were all scientific men.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of April 27th, 1892

A General Meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms, 17, Tsukiji, on the 27th April, 1892, the Vice-President, Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D.D., occupying the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

There was a very full attendance. It was announced that the Rev. L. Ryde had been elected an ordinary member of the Society.

A paper by the Rev. Jno. BACHELOR, entitled "Specimens of Ainu Folk-Lore," was read by the Corresponding Secretary. It contained several legends, the sequels of others already printed by the Society in Vols. XVI. and XVIII., of which the original Ainu was given.

Mr. MILNE spoke of the value of folk-lore stories, however childish in themselves they might be, as helping us to trace the race affinities of a people. He was sure the Ainu had some connection with extinct races in eastern Europe.

Mr. DIXON remarked that he was struck with a certain incoherence in the legends, an absence of picturesqueness, and of clearness, which made him a little suspicious of their value. He was not quite sure that the Ainu who had related them was not drawing upon a not over-fertile imagination.

The next paper, contributed by the Rev. R. B. GRINNAN, was read by Mr. Wigmore. It was entitled "Feudal Land Tenure in Tosa,"

Dr. Knox spoke of Tosa as a district in which he happened to have a special interest. It was a country studded with the ruins of castles, for the people in the earlier feudal times had never owned the sway of any great lord and had developed considerable independence of

manner and character. They prided themselves on their frankness and courage. These qualities might result from the constant fighting in which even farmers engaged; and also the fact that many bold warriors had been driven from the mainland to seek a shelter in the inviolable recesses of the Shikoku mountains. Speaking of land-tenure, he understood that the *rikosaku* were perpetual tenants who had a right to all their improvements, and who at the Restoration became complete owners. Another system of holding was where the upper three feet of the soil was granted by *samurai* landlords to tenants who had brought the land under cultivation; the landlord merely gained in social rank and importance and not monetarily. The Tosa farmers were as a rule neither large nor small.

Mr. WIGMORE, in referring to the groups of five, ten of which made up a village guild, stated that this was a very old division dating back at least to the 5th or 6th centuries. He then criticized the use of the word "rent" as applied to the annual contribution in rice. Economically the use of the term might be defended, but legally their payment was a tax, as most of the proceeds went directly to the expenses of Government.

Mr. KIRBY spoke of the division population into groups of five as dating from the time of Mencius, in whose works such a disposition was to be found.

Dr. KNOX, referring to a remark in the paper, mentioned one method by which hapless merchants could defend themselves against the otherwise complete tyranny of the *samurai*. If they spat on a *samurai* he had to commit *harakiri* forthwith.

Portions of a paper by Miss Helen Birkenhead, entitled "Suma Mura Fifty Years Ago," were read.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the authors in the name of the Society for their interesting contributions. The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Rooms, 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, 8th June, at 4 p.m. The Vice-President, Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D., occupied the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that Dr. L. Riese and Mr. G. Holmes had been elected resident members, and Dr. Argyll Robertson a life member.

Professor Milne gave notice of a motion to amend Article VI of the Constitution so as to have \$50 as a commutation fee for resident members, to be decreased \$2.50 yearly for every subscription paid. Thus a subscriber would cease to pay in 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN asked Prof. Milne to reduce his amendment as proposed to writing, which was done in the following terms:

"Any person joining the Society can become a life member by the payment of \$50, or any person already a member can become a life member by the payment of \$50 less \$2.50 for each year in which he has been an ordinary member."

The following reports were read and approved of.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR
THE SESSION, OCTOBER, 1891-JUNE, 1892.

The Council has every reason to congratulate the Society on a successful year of work. The permanent housing of the Library at No. 17, Tsukiji, where are provided convenient rooms for the Meetings of Council and the General Meetings, has proved an eminently suitable arrangement.

The number of General Meetings has been fewer than usual, but this is not accompanied by any diminution in the material printed by the Society. General Meetings were held in October, January, February, March, April, and June—six in all. Dr. Eddins's papers on philology read in October were unfortunately lost by the Corresponding Secretary on the way home from the meeting in Tsukiji, and have never been recovered. It will be impossible to replace them, but the author has kindly promised fresh contributions. The efforts of the Society's Committee on Ethnography have not proved fruitless, two at least of this year's papers being directly due to its inquiries. The Committee on the Tokugawa Laws, which owes almost everything to the active enthusiasm of Professor Wigmore, has already furnished the Society with voluminous matter, to be printed as a Supplement to the current volume. The Volume with its Supplement will contain more matter than the Society has ever yet printed in one year.

At the beginning of the session the Council resolved to entrust its printing to the Yokohama firm which for many years was identified with the Society.

Owing to the increase in the number of Societies on the List of Exchanges, it was thought best to discontinue exchanging with several of them whose work hardly lay within the sphere of our interests and work. A comparison of this year's list with last year's (as found in Appendix B) will show what are the omissions.

The Society is represented at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which will hold its sittings in London, in the autumn of this year, by its President, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., and by F. V. Dickins, Esq.

New members continue to be added to the roll of the Society. During the past year nine resident and three non-resident members were elected. The Society conferred Honorary membership on its late President, N. J. Hannen, Esq.

The Treasurer's statement continues to show a satisfactory balance in our favour. This will, however, be materially lessened by the heavy printing expenses connected with the issue of the Supplement to the current balance.

During the current year the Society lost by death one of its oldest members, the Rev. James Summers, who for several years held important offices, and was ever zealous in the Society's interests.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1891-1892.

"Proof that the Japanese Language belongs to the Ural-Altaic stem, and is more distantly related to European tongues," by Rev. J. B. Edkins, D. D., Shanghai.

"Pott's View of the Genealogical Relationship of Japanese," by the same author.

"A Japanese Philosopher," by Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D. D.

"Chōmei and Wordsworth: a Literary Parallel," by J. M. Dixon, Esq.

"A Note on Japanese Schools of Philosophy," by T. Haga, Esq.

"A Comment on Shushi's Philosophy," by Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D. D.

"Ki, Ri and Ten," by Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D. D.

"Specimens of Ainu Folk Lore," by Rev. Jno. Batchelor.

"Something more about Shushi's Philosophy," by T. Haga, Esq.

- " Feudal Land Tenure in Tosa," by Rev. R. B. Grinnan.
 " Suma-mura Fifty Years Ago," by Miss H. M. Birkenhead.
 " On Japanese Swords," by J. M. Dixon, Esq.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

- Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
 " " Sciences of Finland (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*).
 Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; Journal.
 American Association for the Advancement of Science.
 " Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.
 " Oriental Society, New Haven; Journal.
 " Philological Association, Boston; Transactions and Journal.
 " Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
 Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien; Mittheilungen.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.
 Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
 " Museum, Sydney.
 Bataviasch Genootschap; *Notulen. Tijdschrift. Verhandlungen.*
 Boston Society of Natural History; Proceedings.
 Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports; Washington.
 " " Education, Circulars of Information; Washington.
 California Academy of Sciences.
 " State Mining Bureau; Report.
 Canadian Institute, Toronto; Proceedings and Reports.
 China Review; Hongkong.
 Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.
 Cochinchine Française, *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Saigon.
 Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,
 Tôkyô; Mittheilungen.
 Geological Survey of India; Records.
 Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
 Handelsmuseum, Wien.
 Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology; Bulletin,
 Papers, etc.
 Imperial Observatory, Rio Janeiro.

Imperial Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin and Reports.

„ Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow), Section
of Anthropology and Ethnography; Transactions.

Imperial University of Japan, College of Science; Journal.

Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.

Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.

Journal Asiatique, Paris.

Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der
Naturforscher; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.

Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Revue, etc.

Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.

Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Tacubaya, Anuario Mexico.

„ Meteorologico, Monte Video.

Ornithologischer Verein in Wien, Mittheilungen.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain; Journal, etc.

„ „ „ Bombay Branch; Journal.

„ „ „ Ceylon Branch; Journal and Proceedings.

„ „ „ China Branch; Journal.

„ „ „ Straits Branch; Journal.

„ Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.

„ Geographical Society; Proceedings.

„ „ „ New South Wales Branch.

„ Society, London; Proceedings.

„ „ of Edinburgh; Proceedings.

„ „ New South Wales.

„ „ Tasmania.

„ „ of Queensland.

Seismological Society of Japan; Transactions.

Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.; Reports, etc.

Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid; Boletín.

„ de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletín, Lisbon.

Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.

„ de Géographie; Bulletin et Comptes Rendus des Séances,
Paris.

„ des Études Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.

„ d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bulletins et Mémoires.

„ d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.

Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchâtel.

Sydney, Council of Education, Report.

University of Toronto.

United States Geological Survey.

„ „ Department of Agriculture.

Verein für Erdkunde, Leipzig: Mittheilungen.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

APPENDIX C.

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31st, 1892.

Dr.

To the Hakubunsha, for printing	\$ 555.215
To Postage and Stationery	25.955
To Insurance on Library and Transactions	32.500
To Rent of No. 17, Tsukiji	100.000
To Illustrations for Transactions	24.500
To Librarian, for removing library; books and postage .	62.540
To Kelly & Walsh, Books for Library	70.750
To Translation	140.000
To Copying	13.800
To Advertising	5.000
	<u>\$1,100.260</u>
Balance	2,318.435
	<u>\$3,418.435</u>

Cr.

By Balance from last year	\$1,825.065
By Entrance fees	70.000
By Life Subscriptions	64.000
By Yearly Subscriptions	562.000
By Sale of Transactions	837.060
By Interest at Bank	60.570
	<u>\$3,418.695</u>

M. N. WYCKOFF, Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.

W. JNO. WHITE, } Auditors.
RICHARD J. KIRBY, }

Mr. DROFFERS spoke regarding the item allowed for translation work, and hoped such payments would in future be sanctioned by the Council according to some fixed rule or principle. It seemed to him that abuses might result from the present system. Professor Milne, Dr. Divers, and Professor Liscomb also spoke as to the same matter.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—

PRESIDENT—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D.; James Troup, Esq.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—Rev. Clay McCauley.

RECORDING SECRETARIES—A. Tison, Esq.; J. K. Goodrich, Esq.

TREASURER—M. N. Wyckoff, Esq.

LIBRARIAN—Rev. W. J. White.

COUNCILLORS:

Dr. L. Divers

Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene,

Rev. W. I. Lawrance.

J. H. Longford, Esq.

Rev. T. M. McNair.

R. Masujima, Esq.

J. Milne, Esq.

W. J. S. Shand, Esq.

Dr. H. Weipert.

J. H. Wigmore, Esq.

Professor Dixon read a note on the manufacture of Cloisonne.

Thereafter a paper was read by Professor Dixon, entitled
"Japanese Swords,"

Mr. Dixon displayed various illustrations of famous swords, showing one that he had himself seen made by a famous living smith. Mr. Inawo, of the Household Department, was then introduced to the meeting, and showed several fine swords in his collection, particularly a Masamune. A retainer of Viscount Akimoto's was also present with a Kanehira blade and several others. These were inspected with great interest by members, and various questions were asked. A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Inawo and the reader of the paper.

The meeting then adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Alcock, Sir Rutherford, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London, England
Arnold, C.S.I.N., Sir Edwin, c/o Daily Telegraph Office, London, England.
Arthur, Rear-Admiral W., c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London, England.
Aston, C.M.G., W. G., Woodlands, Seaton, Devon, England.
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Edkins, D.D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai.
Franks, A. W., c/o Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, E. C., England.
Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., Pasadena, Cal., U. S. A.
Norkenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, C.M.G., Ernest M., British Legation, Montevideo.
Wade, K.C.B., Sir Thomas F., Cambridge, England.
Whitney, Prof. W. D., New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
-

LIFE MEMBERS.

- Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., 2 Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London, W., England.
Atkinson, B.Sc., R. W., Cardiff, Wales.
Bisset, F.L.S., J., 72, Yokohama.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Bolton, Lake George, New York.
Brauns, Prof. Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
Brown, Captain A. R., Central Chambers, 109 Hope Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
Carson, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Ruston Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire, England.
Clement, E. W., 5461, Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

- Cooper, LL.D., C. J., Hampton Lodge, Stourton near Stour Bridge,
Staffordshire, England.
- Deas, F. W., 12 Magdala Place, Edinburgh.
- Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W.,
England.
- Dixon, F.R.S.E., J. M., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- Dixon, M.A., Rev. William Gray, Warrnambool, Victoria, Australia.
- Eaves, Rev. Geo., Poste Restante, Denver, Colorado, U. S. A.
- Fearing, D., Newport, Rhode Island, U. S. A.
- Flemmich, O. C., Alton House, Roehampton, England.
- Flowers, Marcus, National Union Club, Albemarle Street, London, W.,
England.
- Gowland, W., c/o F. Dillon, Esq., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens,
Kensington, London, S.W., England.
- Gribble, Henry, 184 Pearl Street, New York.
- Hall, Frank, Elmira, Chemung Co., New York.
- Holme, F.L.S., C., The Red House, Bixley Heath, Kent, England.
- Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
- Knott, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Cargill G., Royal Society, Edinburgh.
- Liberty, Lasenby, 13 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, London,
England.
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- Morse, W. H., c/o Messrs. Smith, Baker & Co., 78 Yokohama.
- Napier, H. M., Glasgow, Scotland.
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- Tompkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.
- Trower, H. Seymour, 51 Montagu Square, London, W., England.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- Akimoto, Viscount, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
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 U. S. A.
 Andrews, Rev. Walter, Hakodate.
 Arrivet, J. B., Koishikawa, Kanatomi-chō, Tōkyō.
 Baelz, M.D., E., 12 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
 Baker, Colgate, Kobe.
 Batchelor, Rev. J., c/o Rev. Walter Andrews, Hakodate.
 Bickersteth, Right Reverend Bishop, 11 Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
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 Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Brandram, Rev. J. B., Kumamoto.
 Brinkley, R.A., Capt. F., 7 Nagata-chō, Nichōme, Tōkyō.
 Brown, Matthew, 6 Yokohama.
 Burton, W. K., 9 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
 Center, Alex., 4-A Yokohama.
 Chamberlain, B. H., 19 Daimachi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Cochran, D.D., Rev. G., 16 Toriizaka, Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Cocking, S., 55 Yokohama.
 Conder, J., 13 Nishi-konya-cho, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
 Coudenrove, Count Henry, Austrian Legation, Tōkyō.
 Cruickshank, W. J., 35 Yokohama.
 Dautremere, J., French Legation, Tōkyō.
 Deakin, L. H., 20 Yokohama.
 De Bunsen, M., British Legation, Tōkyō.
 De Forest, D.D., Rev. J. H., Sendai.
 Dietz, F., 70 Yokohama.
 Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
 Droppers, Garrett, 41 Shinzaka-machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Du Bois, M.D., Francis, 48 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
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 Enslie, J. J., British Consulate, Kōbe.
 Fardel, C. L., Victoria School, Yokohama.
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 Francis, Rev. J. M., 25 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Fraser, J. A., 143, Yokohama.
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 Gardiner, J. McD., 40 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.

- Giussani, C., 90-B Yokohama.
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 Hinton, C. H., Kanazawa, Kaga.
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 Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridōshi, Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 Isawa, S., 50 Dairokuten-chō, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.
 James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.
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 Lambert, E. B., Dōshisha, Kyōtō.
 Lawrance, W. I., 19 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Lay, A. H., British Consulate, Kobe.
 Layard, R. de B., British Consulate, Yokohama.
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- MacNair, Rev. T. M., Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
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 Masujima, R., 21 Hiyoshi-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
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 Newton, J. C. C., Kobe.
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 Soper, Rev. Julius, Hakodate
 Spencer, Rev. J. O., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
 Spinner, W., 12 Suzukicho, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
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- Tyng, T. S., 29 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
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Walsh, T., Kobe.
Walter, W. B., 1 Yokohama.
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THE
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised June, 1891.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised June, 1891.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

- Art. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
- Art. II. The Object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- Art. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

- Art. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.
- Art. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.
- Art. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Any person joining the Society can become a Life Member by the payment of Fifty Dollars; or any person already a member can become a Life Member by

the payment of Fifty Dollars, less Two Dollars and Fifty Cents for each year in which he has been an Ordinary Member.

- Art. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

- Art. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

- Art. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Two Vice-Presidents.

A Corresponding Secretary.

Two Recording Secretaries.

A Treasurer.

A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

- Art. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

- Art. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

- Art. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in June, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

- Art. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence

of the President and Vice-Presidents, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

- Art. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

- Art. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of Council and balloted for the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.

- Art. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.

- Art. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATION.

- Art. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain:—

- (1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon;
- (2) The Minutes of the General Meetings;
- (3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.

- Art. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author, and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.

- Art. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion

- Art. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

Art. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

Art. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

Art. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.
- Art. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.
- Art. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given, when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of Meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- Art. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) Communications from the Council;
 - (3) Miscellaneous Business;
 - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

- (6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

- VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4 p.m. on the First Wednesday of each month.
- VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

- VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees;
 - (3) The Election of Members;
 - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society;
 - (5) Miscellaneous Business;
 - (6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society;
 - (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

- IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall :—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notices of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and General Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election, and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

- XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō, and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII. The Recording Secretary shall:—

1. Keep Minutes of General and Council Meetings;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tokyo and Yokohama;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence;
6. Act on the Publication Committee;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

XIII. The Treasurer shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary;
4. Notify new Members of the amount of entrance fee and subscriptions then due;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send Copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange, under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its June Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or, if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

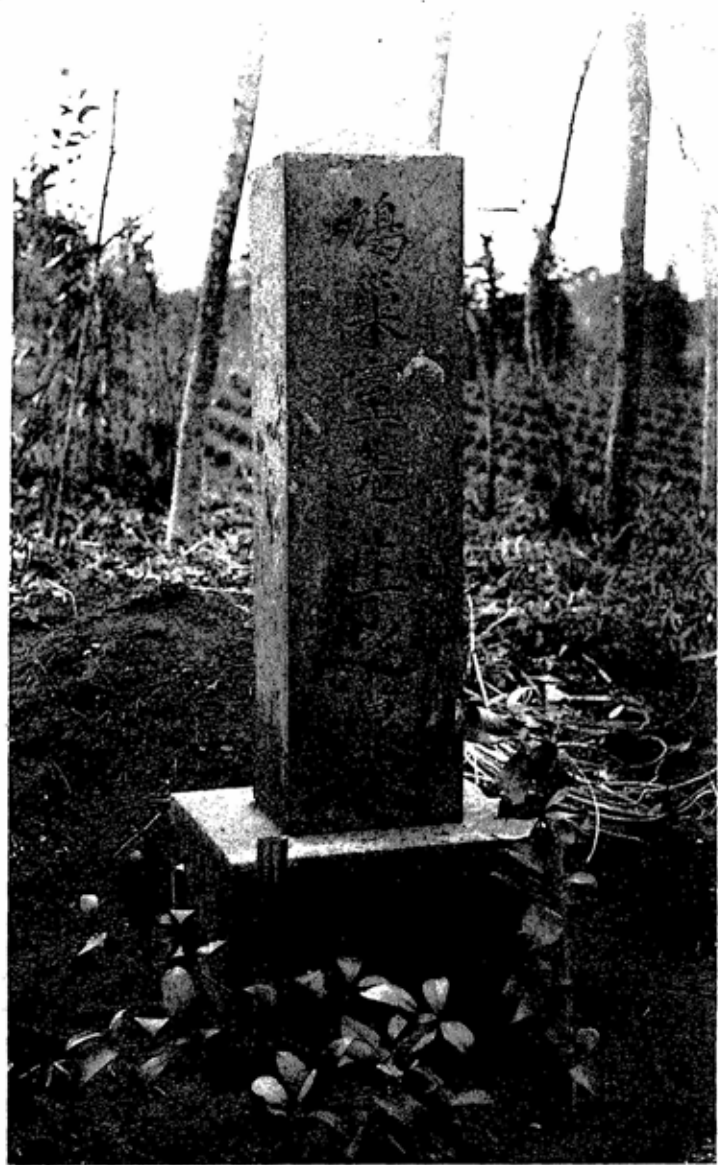
LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

- Art. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17 Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.
- Art. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

- Art. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price one copy for his own use of any Part of the Transactions issued prior to the date of his Membership.
- Art. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.





K. OGAWA.

COLLOTYPE.

THE GRAVE OF KYU-SŌ, ŌTSUKA MURA, TŌKYŌ.

A JAPANESE PHILOSOPHER.

BY GEORGE WM. KNOX, D.D.

[*Read January 20, 1892.*]

INTRODUCTION.

Previous to the recent introduction of western literature and science, the intellectual development of the Japanese may be studied in three periods, each characterized by a distinctive system of religion and ethics.

The first period came to an end in the eighth century of our era. It was the period of Shintō and of pure native thought. It has been fully treated in the Transactions of this society.¹

The second period began with the introduction of Buddhism and, with it, of the Chinese civilization in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Thenceforth for a thousand years the new religion was supreme. "All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands, Buddhism introduced art, introduced medicine, moulded the folk-lore of the country, created its dramatic poetry, deeply influenced its politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity."² Religiously its highest distinctively Japanese development was in the

¹ "The Kō-ji-ki," translated by B. H. Chamberlain, Vol. X. Appendix; "The Revival of Pure Shin-tau," by Ernest Satow, Vol. III. Appendix; "Ancient Japanese Rituals," by the same, Vols. VII, IX; also "The Classical Poetry of the Japanese" by B. H. Chamberlain.

² "Things Japanese," by B. H. Chamberlain, p. 71, 2nd Ed.

thirteenth century, when the Nichiren and Shin sects were founded. Its impress is deep upon the literary masterpieces of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³

The third period began with the establishment of peace under Tokugawa Ieyasu and continued until the period of Meiji in which we live. It is the period of the Chinese philosophy as interpreted by the great scholars of the Sō (Sung) dynasty in China.

These periods intermingle and overlap. Repeated instances of Chinese influence are detected even in the earliest remains of pure Japanese literature; in the second period the influence of the earlier remained and the force of the Confucian teaching was strongly felt. And in the third period not only did the influences of the three intermingle, but they came to philosophical and religious self-consciousness and conflict.

The Confucian ethics came to Japan early in the Christian era, just how early is uncertain. The wide influence of Chinese thought and civilization date from the introduction of Buddhism; but the distinctive triumph of the Chinese philosophy was in the seventeenth century of our era. In Japan as in China the prevalent philosophy must be distinguished from the traditional and dogmatic ethics.

PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS.

This distinction often has been overlooked and the philosophy has been identified with the teachings of the Sages. Then, as a second step, these teachings are described as "an attempt to isolate the purely human side of morals,"⁴ finding its sole origin "in the conviction that human moral life has its basis and its safeguards in human nature."⁴ The words of Confucius and Mencius appear to be "a set of moral truths—some would

³ James Troup's translations of the Shin teaching, Vols. XIV, XVII of these Transactions.

⁴ "The International Journal of Ethics," Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 307.

say truisms—of a very narrow scope and of dry ceremonial observances, political rather than personal.”⁵ However true this characterization of the early Chinese teachings may be, one dissents when it is set forth, finally, as “the creed of educated Chinamen”;⁴ nor, so far as my limited study goes, can I find that it has satisfied “the Far-Easterns of China, Korea and Japan.”

It is not necessary to linger over the efforts to prove the original monotheism of the Chinese nor to recount the religious elements in the teaching of Confucius.⁶ After his death there was a rapid “degeneracy,” for his “set of moral rules” left an open door for other doctrine. In the time of Mencius scholars openly ridiculed the “Master,” and in spite of Mencius’s opposition Taoism gained in strength. Later on for centuries Taoism had “the field pretty much to itself;”⁷ until at a subsequent date this mystical system received “Buddhism with open arms.”⁸

As early as 65 A. D. the Imperial sanction was given to the Indian religion, and thenceforth for centuries men were zealous for both Confucius and Buddha.⁹ So in the time of the Eastern Tsin “Buddhism was the chief religion, . . . and the doctrines of Confucius were much esteemed;”¹⁰ and

⁵ “Things Japanese,” 2nd Edition, p. 92.

⁶ See “The Religions of China,” Lecture I; and Faber’s “A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius,” pp. 44–53.

⁷ “The Religions of China,” p. 180.

⁸ “The China Review” Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 59.

⁹ Dr. Edkins (“The Phoenix” Vol. III, pp. 47–49) divides the intellectual development of China into five stages;—1, Struggles for Confucianism against various speculations, with Taoist doctrine gaining yearly; 2, The “Han”, when the tone of speculation was predominantly Taoist; 3, The six dynasties, when Buddhism was triumphant; 4, The “Tang,” luxurious and poetical; 5, The “Sung,” and on to our day. In none of these periods was “the purely human side of morals” the “creed of educated Chinamen.” Some addition was always needed to satisfy their intellectual and religious natures.

¹⁰ The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, p. 165.

again we read of the emperor Wuti of the Liang in the sixth century: "Wuti did much to restore literature and the study of Confucius; . . . In his latter days he was so great a devotee of Buddhism that he retired to a monastery like Charles V."¹¹ This harmony continued with little to disturb it until the time of the Sō (Sung).

It was during this period of Buddhist supremacy that the Chinese literature was brought to Japan, and here too it was honoured but made no effort to disentangle itself from its ally; the Buddhist religion, and not the Confucian ethics, bringing characteristic of the period.

When, however, under Tokugawa rule, Chinese thought a second time made conquest of Japan, it was no longer friendly to Buddhism. While Japan had slept its long sleep of centuries (from the twelfth to the seventeenth) China had been awake. At last Confucianism had taken on the form of a developed philosophy and with its new self-consciousness had attacked and routed its quondam friend. This new philosophy has satisfied the intellect of China and introduced into Japan won its way here also at once. The ages of Buddhist faith came to a close and the intellect of Japan accepted in the place of the Indian religion the pantheistic philosophy of Shushi (Chu Hi).¹²

The luxury and poetry of the Tō (Tang) were followed by the struggles of the Sō (Sung, A. D. 970-1127, or including the "Southern Sung" until 1277). During the reigns of Chin-tsung and of his son Tin-tsung "a violent controversy arose among the literati and officials as to the best mode of conducting the government. Some of them, as Sz'ma Kwang the historian, contended for the maintenance of the old principles of the sages. Others, of whom Wang Ngan-shi was the distinguished leader, advocated reform

¹¹ The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, p. 166.

¹² The Chinese philosophy is sometimes called "agnostic," so "a friendly German critic" in "Things Japanese," p. 94, and that too was once my opinion, "Osaka Conference," p. 115. It is not agnostic, but pantheistic, as will abundantly appear.

and change to the entire overthrow of existing institutions. For the first time in the history of China two political parties peacefully struggled for supremacy, each content to depend on argument and truth for victory. The contest soon grew too bitter, however, and the accession of a new monarch, Shin-tsung, enabled Wang to dispossess his opponents and to manage state affairs as he pleased. After a trial of eight or ten years the voice of the nation restored the conservatives to power, and the radicals were banished beyond the frontier. A discussion like this, involving all the cherished ideas of the Chinese, brought out deep and acute inquiry into the nature and uses of things generally, and the writers of this dynasty, at the head of whom was Chu Hi, made a lasting impression on the national mind."¹³

THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SŌ.

The best known of the "orthodox" philosophers of the Sō are Chow Tun-i, (A. D. 1017-1073), the brothers Ch'eng (A. D. 1032-1085, and 1033-1107), and above all Chu Hi. Of the younger Ch'eng it is said,—“His criticisms on the classics opened a new era in Chinese philosophy and were reverently adopted by his great successor Chu Hi.”¹⁴ The names of Ch'eng and Chu are associated together, and the dominant philosophy is called the system of Tei-Shu (Japanese pronunciation).

These philosophers may be compared to the schoolmen of Europe. They were no longer satisfied with the earlier unsystematic exposition of the Confucian ethics, but called metaphysics to their aid and transformed the groups of aphorisms and precepts into an ontological philosophy. As the schoolmen mingled with the teachings of the prophets and apostles elements drawn from Grecian and Eastern philosophy, so did these Chinese schoolmen mingle elements drawn from Buddhism and Taoism in their system based ostensibly on the classics. Their indebtedness to these two

¹³ The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, p. 174.

¹⁴ Mayers's "Manual," p. 34.

religions was none the less real because of their vehement rejection of both as heretical. And as the teachings of the schoolmen ruled European thought for centuries and were the medium through which the words of Christ were studied, so were the teachings of the Tei-Shu school supreme in the East and the medium through which China and Japan studied and accepted the words of the Sages. To disregard their philosophy and suppose that the earlier and simpler teaching has remained supreme, is as if we should disregard the whole historical development of theology and state that the synoptic gospels have contented Europe for eighteen hundred years.

Shushi was born in the year 1180 and died in the year 1200. He was historian and statesman as well as commentator and philosopher. Educated in Buddhism and Taoism, he rejected both and completed the system of Ch'eng. He was repeatedly employed by the emperor in posts of high importance, but finally died in retirement. His system has remained the standard in China and no deviation from his teaching has been permitted in the examinations. His commentary is the orthodox exposition and his philosophy the accepted metaphysic.¹⁵ "The Sect of the Learned" designates his followers.

¹⁵ Shushi's name is variously written by writers in China, Chu-hsi, Choo He, Chu He, Chu Hi and Ku Hsi. Dr. Legge has used much of Shushi's commentary in connection with his various translations. Accounts of his life are given by Mayer, p. 25; Meadows, *The Chinese*, Chap. XVIII; in the *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XVIII, p. 206 f. A section of his writings has been translated by Medhurst, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, pp. 552, 609 ff. Also by Canon McClatchie,—"Chinese Cosmogony," being "Section Forty-Nine of the Complete Works," with criticisms and defence in *The China Review*, Vol. III, p. 342 f., Vol. IV, pp. 84, 342 ff. "The Middle Kingdom" has various references to Shushi (Chu Hi), the most extended being Vol. I, pp. 682-685. An interesting account of some points in his philosophy is given by W. A. P. Martin, D. D.,—"The Cartesian Philosophy before Descartes, (Extract from the Journal of the Peking Oriental Society)." See also Faber's "Doctrines of Confucius," pp. 32-33. Rev. Griffith John, *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 37-44., *The Ethics of the Chinese*."

SHUSHI'S SYSTEM.

The philosophy of Shushi (Chu Hi) is thus described by Eitel:—"Though modern Confucianism has long discarded the belief in the one supreme God, of which their classical writings still preserve a dead record, and though they substituted for the personal God whom their forefathers worshipped, an abstract entity, devoid of personality, devoid of all attributes whatsoever, yet they look upon nature not as a dead inanimate fabric, but as a living, breathing organism. They see a golden chain of spiritual life running through every form of existence and binding together, as in one living body, everything that subsists in heaven above or on earth beneath. What has so often been admired in the natural philosophy of the Greeks,—that they made nature live; that they saw in every stone, in every tree, a living spirit; . . .—this poetical, emotional and reverential way of looking at natural objects, is equally a characteristic of natural science in China."

There is a "child-like reverence for the living powers of nature," a "sacred awe and trembling fear of the unseen," a "firm belief in the reality of the invisible world and its constant intercommunication with the seen and temporal."

"Choo-He's mode of thinking has in fact been adopted by modern Confucianism." According to him "there was in the beginning one abstract principle or monad, called the 'absolute nothing,' which evolved out of itself the 'great absolute.' This abstract principle or monad, the great absolute, is the primordial cause of all existence. When it first moved, its breath¹⁶ or vital energy congealing, produced the great male principle. When it had moved to the utter-

¹⁶ "Between heaven and earth there is nothing so important, so almighty and omnipresent as this breath of nature. . . . Through it heaven and earth and every creature live and move and have their being. Nature's breath is, in fact, but the spiritual energy of the male and female principles." "Feng-shui," p. 45.

most it rested, and in resting produced the female principle. After it had rested to the utmost extent, it again moved, and thus went on in alternate motion and rest without cessation. When this supreme cause divided itself into male and female that which was above constituted heaven, and that which was beneath formed the earth. Thus it was that heaven and earth were made. But the supreme cause having produced by evolution the male and female principles, and through them heaven and earth, ceased not its constant permutations, in the course of which men and animals, vegetables and minerals, rose into being. The same vital energy, moreover, continued to act ever since, and continued to act through those two originating causes, the male and female powers of nature, which ever since mutually and alternately push and agitate one another, without a moment's intermission.

Now, the energy animating the two principles is called in Chinese K'e (Japanese Ki), or the breath of nature. When this breath first went forth and produced the male and female principles and finally the whole universe, it did not do so arbitrarily or at random, but followed fixed, inscrutable, and immutable laws. These laws or order of nature, called Li, were therefore abstractly considered prior to the issuing of the vital breath, and must therefore be considered separately. Again, considering this Li (Japanese Ri), or the general order of the universe, the ancient sages observed that all the laws of nature and all the workings of its vital breath are in strict accordance with certain mathematical principles, which may be traced or illustrated by diagrams, exhibiting the numerical proportion of the universe called Su, or numbers. But, . . . these three principles are not directly cognizable to the senses : they are hidden from view and only become manifest through forms and outlines of physical nature."¹⁷

¹⁷ "Feng-shui," pp. 5-9., See "Ki, Ri and Ten" below. Also my "Comment" below for a further exposition, differing somewhat from Eitel's.

ITS JAPANESE OPPONENTS.

This is the system which came to Japan in the 17th century and won the adherence of all educated men. It displaced Buddhism at once and finally in the regard of the higher classes. Buddhism indeed made no defence but accepted its fate. Later on however the orthodox Chinese philosophy encountered other enemies. The revival of an interest in history, fostered by the Tokugawa, was followed by a revived interest in Pure Shintō, a Shintō disentangled from its Buddhistic ally and restored to its supposed early form. This religion was intensely national and intensely anti-Chinese in spirit.¹⁸ It waged its war, not wholly without effect, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It affected somewhat the later writers of the Chinese school. But the followers of Confucius, or better of Shushi, to the end commanded the assent of the great majority of educated men. And this, too, in spite of still another attack. This was made by the school of Ōyōmei 王陽明. In opposition to the "scientific philosophy" of Shu-shi it sought to substitute an idealistic intuitionism.

Shushi attempted to agree with the differing schools of Chinese thought, bringing them together in spite of their inherent differences. He was to this extent an eclectic. He was strongly conservative and held fast to the past, it being understood of course that his own interpretation was to be accepted as the teaching of the past. He was historian and commentator as well as philosopher. Already in his own time his views met opposition in favour of a free development of thought. And among the men of his time Rikusōsan¹⁹

¹⁸ See "The Revival of Pure Shin-tan," pp. 13-14, 21-34.

¹⁹ 陸象山 b. 1140 A. D. "In opposition to the critical philosophical erudition of Chu-hsi, Lu desires rectification of heart and life to be the main point, as the commencement and aim of study. There is no doubt that in this Confucius stands on his side." Faber's "Doctrines of Confucius," p. 33.

insisted that his own heart, and not the past should be the chief object of study. He however wrote little and his first great follower was Ōyōmei.

ŌYŌMEI.

Ōyōmei was born in the year 1472 A. D. and died in the year 1528. He was a provincial governor "and in this capacity gained high renown through his conduct of military affairs. In 1518 he subdued an insurrection in Kiang-si and in 1527, conducted a campaign against the wild tribes in northern Kwang-si."²⁰ He is famous for his humour and for his fine literary style. His style is clear and intellectual, and no one has since equalled it in China or Japan. He was peculiarly fond of studies pertaining to war. He was also a poet of originality and power. In China many scholars accepted his doctrine at once, but in Japan his following has been small, for the Tokugawa government gave its patronage wholly to the school of Shushi and forbade the public teaching of the doctrines of Ōyōmei.

Ōyōmei was not a repeater of past wisdom, nor a commentator: he sought to find all truth within his own heart. He cared nothing for the scientific investigation of the outer world, nor for the study of history. He even thought that all reading might be dispensed with and refused to commiserate a scholar who was lamenting the loss of his sight, Ōyōmei assuring him that he should be content, since he bore all truth within his own heart and needed not eyes to aid in studying that.

SPIRIT AND LAW.

Differing thus in method he also denied the fundamental positions of the philosophy of Shushi. The latter, as we have

²⁰ Mayers's "Manual," p. 246. This brief paragraph is all I have been able to find in English. A lecture recently given by Prof. Inoue of the Imperial University is the authority for my account of Ōyōmei and his philosophy. Printed in the *Rikugo Zasshi*—Feb. 1892.

seen, taught the existence of both "ki" and "ri," spirit and law. His conception of "ki" corresponded to the Stoic doctrine of "pneuma."²¹ Ki by no means necessarily implies personality. Sometimes it is described as if it were the essence, the inner power, of all things. It is not "spiritual" in our modern and defined use of the word. It is identified with the air. It exists in all things. All things may be called "ki," the grass, the trees, the human body. But man's heart is also "ki" and shows its nature when the passions are aroused. From this point of view we might think Shushi as strict a materialist as the Stoics, but then too we should interpret matter in the Stoic and not in the modern sense. There are formless ki and ki impalpable and invisible. Over against the ki is placed the "ri," the law, the principle of nature. Ri is invisible and is the same as the "Way," as reason. It is not however merely abstract, for then would it be the same as the Buddhist "nature." Ri is an entity as real as ki, indeed even more truly an entity for it (theoretically) preceded ki and ki depends on it.²² Still in the actual world there is no ki without ri and no ri without ki. Man's heart, his ki, is polished and refined by the ri, so the ri must be studied and thus the fundamental process is "the distinction of things."²³ If we do not thus "know," even the best action will not avail.²⁴

²¹ Pneuma "is the totality of all existence; out of it the whole visible universe proceeds, hereafter to be resolved into it again. . . . Out of it separated first the elemental fire, and this again condenses into air; a further step in the downward path derives water and earth from the solidification of air. . . . From the elements the one substance is transformed into the multitude of individual things." *Enc. Brit.*, art. Stoics. Compare pp. 46-47 below.

²² For an example of the process of this "reification of the concept" see p. 47 below.

²³ This method professes to rest upon a phrase of Confucius. "the distinction of things." See p. 48 note, below.

²⁴ P. 72 below.

ÖYÖMEI'S IDEALISM.

Now Öyōmei was an idealist and would have none of this distinction into *ki* and *ri*. Outside of the heart itself there is no *ri*, no law, no principle. The heart and the *ri* are identical. All the *ri* is contained within the heart and there is no place for "the distinction of things." The heart is the same as the "Way" and the "Way" is the same as "Heaven." If a man knows his heart, he knows the "Way" and if he knows the "Way" he knows Heaven. All depends on purifying the heart. Good and evil are all of it, and there is neither good nor evil apart from it. Men are all good as Shushi, after Mencius, taught, and can all purify their hearts if they will, though in this too there are natural differences. All men are divided into three classes, and the highest have an intuitive knowledge that is their own innate standard. This innate knowledge is however in all men; make it clear and all is clear. And it is purified by obedience to the five relations and the five virtues. We gain nothing from without; all is already within and needs only to be thus studied by obedience. To act is to know. If we say we know, we already act or we do not truly know. Knowledge is the beginning of action and action is the completion of knowledge.

Thus ethical science is the only science and nothing else is worthy of our attention or thought.²⁵

Öyōmei fully accepted idealism. He asserted that apart from our hearts there is nothing. The flower comes into existence when it becomes known and ceases to be when it passes out of our knowledge. But he also teaches a cosmological idealism, as he asserts that there is this all important innate knowledge, the best endowment of man, in everything, in grasses, stones, trees, in Heaven and in Earth.

²⁵ Öyōmei's system may be studied in the 傳習錄, Den-shu-roku, the Zen-sho and Zen-shu, 陽明全書 陽明全集.

By virtue of it each thing is itself and all partake of the same ethical law.

Ōyōmei was in his early years a believer in Buddhism and his writings show strong marks of its influence, but he rejected it as a system. He taught that his purpose differed from the Buddhist. The end of his doctrine was not self-absorption in mystic contemplation, but the attainment of virtue, the attainment of the practical virtue needed by men alive and of the world.

JAPANESE FOLLOWERS OF ŌYŌMEI.

The profound repugnance this system excited among the followers of Shushi is well represented in the Shunda-Zatsuwa.²⁶ The government of the Shōgun forbade its propagation and permitted only the orthodox teaching in its schools. Several well known scholars are reputed followers of Ōyōmei, although their published writings do not expressly indicate the fact. Among others is Nakai Tōju (Ōmi Seijin). He lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and was a voluminous writer. In his writings on ethics he does not profess his dependence on Ōyōmei, yet agrees with him in all the essentials of his system.

THE OKINA MONDŌ.

"How can we be sure then of the proper course of conduct? Hold fast in our hearts the great principles of unselfishness and humility, cast evil out of our hearts and follow truth."²⁷ His teaching does not expressly differ from the "orthodox" school, yet his emphasis is different. He exalts "heart learning," insists upon the supreme duty of "polishing the illustrious virtue" of our hearts and proclaims the Confucian laws to be the "manifestation of the virtues of the heart." To him the heart learning is in all, but the sage intuitively beholds it

²⁶ Pp. 28 f. below.

²⁷ Okina mondō. Vol. II p. 3.

while others are indebted to his teaching. Still may all, even the ignorant, attain the blessedness of virtue, as the heart learning extends from lowest to highest, and all go therein, yet with distinction of powers and place. "The great highway is for all, but the travellers are not of equal strength. There are men and women, old and young, weak and strong; for every one there is a duty suited to his powers, and doing that he fulfils the law of filial piety."²⁸ "But," objects the questioner, "this virtue is so broad that I cannot attain it." And the answer is,—“That is the suggestion of a bad heart. You can attain it just because it is so broad. The light of sun and moon goes everywhere, and each one according to the strength of his eyes can use it; so every one, man and woman, learned and unlearned alike, can obey this virtue according to each one's ability. In Heaven it is called Heaven's 'Way' and on earth, earth's 'Way.' Originally it had no name, but for the sake of teaching the ignorant the Sages called it 'filial obedience' ”²⁹ “It dwells in the universe as the spirit dwells in man. It has no beginning nor end. Without it is neither time nor being. In all the universe there is nothing without it. As man is the head of the universe, its image in miniature, filial obedience is in both body and spirit and is the pivot of his existence.” “As a looking-glass reflects many shapes and colours but is itself unchanged, so does filial obedience reflect all the virtues, itself unchangeable. All the virtues, all duties may be resolved into it, and it is called filial obedience, because obedience to parents is the beginning of the 'Way.' Its essence is to perceive that as our bodies are derived from our parents and are yet one with them, so are their bodies derived from the spirit of heaven and earth, and the spirit of heaven and earth is the offspring of the spirit of the universe; thus my body is one with the universe and the gods. Clearly perceiving this

²⁸ Okina Mondō, Vol. V. p. 35.

²⁹ “ “ Vol. I. p. 3.

truth and acting in accordance with it is obedience to the 'Way.' This 'obedience is like the great sea, and the various relationships are like vessels with which we dip out the water; as the vessel is big or small, round or square, so the water appears, but it is all alike the water of the great sea.'²⁸

It is this implicit dependence upon the intuitions of the heart that gives the system of Ōyōmei its attractiveness to many Japanese. "His followers were few, but were all strong men,"²⁹ we are told. And on the other hand,— "Shushi's teaching is admirable but it weakened and enervated the spirit of the Japanese."³⁰

DIFFERENCES AND AGREEMENTS.

The two systems differ, but their points of agreement are more than their divergencies. They are mere varieties of the Jukyō, "The Sect of the Learned." Both rest upon the same fundamental ethical propositions, however distinct their more metaphysical principles. They are alike in the belief that righteousness is life. The shortest time is sufficient, is the "true long life," if spent in conformity to the 'Way.' A clear perception of the 'Way' includes all the rest; this is the true long life and wealth and peace, for if the heart be at rest outward circumstances matter not. And an evil heart includes all the curses; sights and sounds are painful; even without outward sorrow there is no rest."³¹ Both rest their authority ultimately upon the classics, though the Ōyōmei school put less stress upon mere learning. "If one sentence of the Book of Changes be mastered it will teach all that is in the classics. But the Book of Changes is diffi-

²⁸ Okina Mondō, Vol. I. pp. 3-7. The Okina Mondō is a posthumous work of Nakai Tōju printed in 1650 A.D. I printed an abridged translation in "The Chrysanthemum," Vol. II., Nos 3, 4, 6, 8.

²⁹ Prof. T. Inoue.

³⁰ The Rev. M. Uemura.

³¹ Okina Mondō, Vol. II., p. 34.

cult of comprehension, so Confucius wrote the Classic of Filial Piety. This will suffice; but after it is mastered, according to time and strength we are to go on to others." This doubtless is a point of great practical difference, the orthodox school recommending a study of the books that shall occupy the entire life. Yet both agree in reprobating a scholarship that is apart from morals, that is not expressed in action, that does not govern the life. "True learning is disregard of self, obedience to the 'Way' and the observance of the five relations. Its eye-ball is humility. Wide learning applies all this to the heart. False learning desires the honour of wide learning, envies those who excel, wishes only for fame and makes pride its eye-ball. It has nothing to do with obedience and the more one has the worse he is. Let us beware lest we tread the evil way leading down to the brutes and the dominion of the devils. False learning fosters this pride and never thinks of casting it away."²² "Humble folk who obey but cannot read are taught by others; not reading it is as if they read. That is heart-reading, for it conforms to the heart of the Sages. Mere reading with the eye while the heart is far away is not true reading; it is to read as if reading not. In the age of the gods, imitation of the conduct of the Sages was true learning. Now there are no Sages, and true learning consists in understanding the classics and regulating conduct thereby. Thus may we polish the illustrious jewel of our hearts. To cast away the classics and trust our dark misled hearts, is to cast away the candle and seek in the dark for that which is lost."²³

ATTACK ON BUDDHISM.

Both systems strongly express their hatred of Buddhism and ignore their indebtedness to its teaching. "In India Shaka (Buddha) himself never got beyond the outside

²² Okina Mondō, Vol. III., pp. 10-12.

²³ " " Vol. III., pp. 12-14. Compare pp. 61 below.

of things. His purpose was indeed good but he was ignorant of the essential principles. After his death even the semblance of truth disappeared, and his system dissuaded from virtue and excited to evil. It is to be classed with Taoism, and is a thorn in the 'Way,' an obstruction to the gate of truth; it is to be avoided as one would flee an evil voice and the temptations of lust."²⁴

Ōmi Seijin was the first great writer on the Chinese philosophy in Japan and his memory is still cherished as a man pure in life, strong in influence and great in letters. He established a school and had many followers, of whom Kumazawa Bōkai is the best known. Later Ōshio Heihachirō is the chief representative of the Ōyōmei school. He left little in writing, but is everywhere known for fierce opposition to Tokugawa and his connection with the Ōsaka insurrection of 1839.²⁵

THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL.

The scholar who is usually said to have been the first exponent of the Chinese philosophy is Seiga. He wrote no books. The great scholars of the orthodox school formed a group at the end of the seventeenth century. Of these men the best known is Arai Hakuseki. With his name are associated the names Ito Jinsai, Ogyū Sōrai²⁶ and Yamazaki Ansai.

²⁴ Okina Mondō, Vol. IV., pp. 1-18.

²⁵ During a time of scarcity Ōshio's wrath was excited by the heartless conduct of an official in Ōsaka who refused to remit the taxes. So Ōshio, influenced by his philosophical views to a democratic disregard of official rank and right, led an assault upon the government warehouses, took out the grain and distributed it to the people. The rising was quickly put down and Ōshio suffered death as a criminal. Another account says that en route to Satsuma he was lost at sea—"Dai Ni Hon Jim-mei Ji-sho. Vol. I: 大日本人名辞書. It is possible that the teachings of the Ōyōmei school were more dangerous to the existing order than appears to a foreign student, and that Tokugawa knew its own interests best as it forbade their propagation.

²⁶ Jinsai and Sōrai were not orthodox. See Mr. Haga's "Note" below.

These writers were transmitters of the wisdom of the Chinese and worshipped at the shrine of Tei-Shu. No Western ever held more closely to the plenary inspiration of the Bible as expounded by his favourite commentator than these men to the Chinese Classics. They contain the absolute, eternal truth of Heaven and Earth. By it the universe with all its hosts were formed. This "Way" is the unchanging wisdom, the everlasting reason, the Divine archetype. No deviation from it can go unpunished and no variation in its exposition can be endured. It is not more remarkable that the Japanese orthodoxy attempted no improvement, no amendment in the Classics, than that our orthodox writers attempted no improvement or change in our sacred text. As western writers on theology fill their pages with Biblical references, these writers on the Chinese philosophy fill their pages with allusions to the classics. Direct quotations abound, and references and phrases, so that every sentence has its classical colour.

It is surprising that the Japanese scholars have attempted no systematic exposition of either the orthodox or the heterodox philosophy. They have been content to go to the writings of Shushi and of his Chinese expositors. So too have his commentaries satisfied them. There is not an original and valuable commentary by a Japanese writer. They have been content to brood over the imported works and to accept unquestioningly politics, ethics and metaphysics.⁸⁷

WANT OF ORIGINALITY.

This foreign system moulded the intellectual life of the nation. Within its boundaries thought moved and was confined. As the new was forbidden so was the old cast off. Buddhism and Shintō were as heretical as the teaching

⁸⁷ The Ancient Learning School "Kogaku" also rested upon the modern Chinese School.—Faber's *Doctrines of Confucius*, p. 34; and Mr. Haga's "Note" below.

of Ōyōmei. Society, government, education, literature, religion and ethics, all were supplied from this one source. Buddhism, as we have seen, influenced the thought of the Chinese philosophers, but it was permitted no new influence, it was permitted to add no new ideas here in Japan where it had been supreme for a thousand years. Shintō effected no modification. And the Japanese produced no scholar who could do more than repeat what he had been taught. Yet this philosophy in thus permeating the nation's life could not fail to be modified. It felt the influence of the national ideals. It varied from its original standard, yet not as modified in statement or in system but as insensibly taking on a new colour and feeling a new spirit.

It follows that one cannot readily point out the distinguishing characteristics of the Chinese philosophy in Japan. There is certainly a difference. Here the samurai takes to himself the title reserved in China for the literati and adds arms to letters. The vocation of arms occupies thus the highest place of honour. So too does loyalty take precedence of filial obedience and the ethical philosopher can praise without qualification men who desert parents, wife and children for the feudal lord.²⁸ And with this loyalty is an undue exaltation of a disregard of life, an exaltation that comes near to canonizing those who kill themselves no matter how causelessly, no matter though crime be the reason for an enforced suicide.²⁹ The impetuous, uncompromising, warlike, partisan character of the people is reflected in their morals.

CONFUCIANISM AND THE PEOPLE.

The Confucian literature in Japan so far instructed the mass of the people as to provide summaries of moral rules for them. But these moral rules could exist in harmony

²⁸ Similar instances are found, of course, in Chinese history.

²⁹ Pp. 41-42 below

with a prevailing Buddhism. And as in China for centuries and in Japan for a thousand years the Chinese ethics knew no quarrel with the religion of the Buddha, so even after the educated men in Japan had given up Buddhism it still retained its full power over the lower classes and could incorporate the Confucian ethics with itself.

One effort, long continued, was made to win the people not merely to the Confucian ethics but to the foreign philosophy. Toward the close of the eighteenth century a school of popular preachers expounded the rudiments of the Chinese system to the people. They made such concessions to Buddhism as they thought the case demanded, but sought to substitute their system for the people's faith. They continued in a succession until the middle of the nineteenth century but their failure was complete. They made no lasting impression upon the nation's mind. The Chinese philosophy remained the exclusive possession of the higher classes.⁴⁰

THE REJECTION OF BUDDHISM.

The choice of the Chinese philosophy and the rejection of Buddhism was not because of any inherent quality in the Japanese mind. It was not the rejection of supernaturalism or of the miraculous. The Chinese philosophy is as supernaturalistic as some forms of Buddhism. The distinction is not between the natural and the supernatural in either system but between the seen and the unseen. The Chinese philosophy does not reject the extraordinary; it has a belief in an all-pervading natural "law", but the wonderful and the prodigious are contained therein. It too has its Theo-

⁴⁰ Numerous translations of the sermons of this school have been printed, among the earliest in A. B. Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan" pp. 288-326. The sermons called *Kyūō Dōwa* and *Shingaku Michi no Hanashi* are best known. Besides these there are among others; —*Shō-ō Michi no Hanashi*, *Dōni-ō Dō-wa*, *Shingaku-kyōyū-roku*, and *Zoku-zoku Kyūō Dōwa*.

phanies and its faith-compelling signs. It was not the rejection of a religion for a philosophy, for Buddhism can be as philosophical as Shushi or Ōyōmei, in fact these drew much of their doctrine from its stores. And the Chinese philosophy is as religious as the original teaching of Gautama. Neither Shushi nor Gautama believed in a Creator, but both believed in gods and demons. By the twelfth century A. D. the earlier belief in monotheism, granting that once there was such belief in China, had disappeared. In a single passage the Shundai Zatsuwa seems to indicate belief in one personal God, but the expressions fade away, and there remains only a belief in the Divinity of the immanent forces of the universe.⁴¹ It holds to "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness" and to our constant dependence upon the Unseen. It has little place for prayer, but has a vivid sense of the Infinite and the Unseen and fervently believes that right conduct is in accord with the "eternal verities." Its morality "is touched with emotion."

THE ETERNAL VERITIES.

In neither Shushi nor Ōyōmei is there firm grasp of the idea of personality. As there is no personal Creator, man is the highest expression of the forces of the universe. Even gods and devils fear his "determined mind." But as in the makrokosm so in the mikrokosm: the ultimate realities are force and law. Man has no immortal soul. He is highest in the scale of existence, yet is he only one in the endless series. The station is greater than the individual and it determines him. His whole duty is to live as befits his station. The Buddhist doctrine that a man may leave his station and become a priest is to be abhorred. It comes from the false doctrine of "three worlds." Shaka forsook his kingdom and became a hermit. He did not know fully the truth. To the Confucianist such asceticism is the act of

⁴¹ P. 50 below.

a madman. Every man is to follow the "Way" with unshaken heart in the station in which he was born. To think certain acts virtuous is the error of the ignorant and the heretical."⁴²

THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

For all evil is disarrangement. Confusion is the essence of evil. Strictly speaking there is no other evil. "Nothing is bad by nature but everything is good, yet with a distinction of rank." When this distinction of rank is preserved all are good. But this ideal goodness is rarely realized. "The gods are the activity of Heaven and Earth, the excellent power of the In and Yō, and of the true 'law.' But as the gods come to the world there is both good and evil. For though the working throughout the four seasons of the five elements is of no evil at all, still as that 'spirit' is scattered throughout the universe and confused there arise unexpected winds, heat, cold and storms."⁴³ So is it with man and all that is his. As a part of nature he too is good, originally good, but as his "nature is individualized both good and evil appear."⁴⁴ Let him put himself in harmony with the true nature,—above all let him obey with unshaken heart, and all will be well.

So with the state, crime is "confusion." The ancient order has been lost and therefore evil appears. "In the time of old the Sage was on the throne; the Superior Man was next in authority and all who ruled were wise, the stupid occupying their natural position below the rest. So from highest to lowest wisdom determined the rank and there was none evil. The only distinction was of superior and inferior."⁴⁵ And the Sage ruled by doing "nothing." It was enough that he was enrobed, enthroned, with folded

⁴² The Okina Mondō, Vol. V. pp-17-18.

⁴³ P. 55 below.

⁴⁴ P. 55 below. •

⁴⁵ The Okina Mondō, Vol. II., p. 31.

arms. Not by vain exertions and strife may the empire or the individual be ruled. It is by doing nothing, by letting nature have its way that a Divine excellence is attained.

THE DEEPER SELF.

Man's deepest "self" lies hidden far below his changing "self" of act and thought and desire and will. In mysterious darkness it is nourished and by doing naught. Let not man break in on that depth; let him not direct and will and wish. The springs of his being reach down to the springs of the universe itself. Without selfishness, without rash self-determination, let the truer, deeper "self" be nourished and from that strength the life will come and then in act and word there shall be no danger of a fall.⁴⁶ And at death man shall return to the all pervading spirit, "as a vapour in the sky melts away, as a drop mingles with the sea, as fire disappears in fire."⁴⁷ He can have no immortal soul. For his conscious self there is "nothing beyond slipping into the grave." His highest hope is that his influence for good may survive; and his greatest fear is that his memory may be accursed.⁴⁸ He worships his ancestors as commanded by the Sages, but that worship does not necessarily imply the doctrine of a conscious, personal immortality.⁴⁹ "The soul wholly dis-

⁴⁶ P. 60 below. Compare a certain phase of Christian mysticism:—"Oh to be nothing, nothing;" "A broken and empty vessel;" "Emptied, that He might fill me;" "Broken, that so unhindered, His life through me might flow."

⁴⁷ The *Okina Mondō*, Vol. V p. 26.

⁴⁸ P. 40 below.

⁴⁹ The worship of ancestors remains an inconsistency difficult of explanation in Shushi's philosophy. He teaches (in the *Gorui* 語類) that at death we are like the flame: it ascends and disappears yet we cannot say that it has ceased to be. It is the law that man's spirit (*ki* 氣) dissolves at death, vanishes into thin air; but there are exceptions. When men naturally, and, so to speak, willingly die the spirit thus dissolves, but when they die violently, with strong protest, the spirit remains for a time collected and may return and show it-

solves at death but my spirit is one with the spirit of my ancestors. So though all other spirits dissolve yet does the root of this remain and when I worship their spirits gather again. So it was that the Sages enforced this worship. And as my spirit is one with the spirit of my ancestors, so is the spirit of the noble one with the spirit of his dominion, and when he worships the spirits of the dead respond. When I speak of the universe there is indeed only one spirit; when I speak of myself, my spirit is the spirit of my ancestors and so it is that when I 'feel,' they 'respond.'

ADOPTED ON FAITH.

Without critical examination and upon faith Japan accepted the Chinese philosophy. Once it had accepted the Chinese ethics in alliance with the Buddhist religion; as trustingly it adopted the philosophy of Tei-Shu with all its hostility to the Indian faith. Nor did the "eclipse of faith" cost the scholars of the period of the Tokugawa any heart burnings. Buddhism went at once at the bidding of this new comer and left "not a wrack behind." In acceptance and rejection alike no native originality emerges, nothing beyond a vigorous power of adoption and assimilation. No improvements in the new philosophy were even attempted. Wherein it was defective and indistinct, defective and indistinct it remained. The system was not thought out to its end and independently adopted. Polemics, ontology, ethics, theology, marvels, heroes, all were enthusiastically adopted on faith. It is to be added that the new system was superior to the old, and this much of discrimination was shown.

It is not my purpose to discuss the Chinese philosophy, not even the Tei-Shu philosophy as represented in Japan.

self and work harm. A man who was killed by his adulterous wife appeared to her undoing, for his hatred held his spirit together until vengeance was executed. But such exceptions are only for a time; finally all alike return to the primeval spirit. Shushi thus saves his philosophy and his orthodoxy.

I desire to represent the spirit and thought of Old Japan, of the educated men of the Tokugawa period. And a Japanese can best do this, a Japanese who gives his account with undisturbed faith and who is a recognized master among his countrymen. In the *Shundai Zatsuwa* of Kyusō Murō we have the ruling ideas of the Japan that has forever passed away.

MURŌ NAOKIYO.

Murō Naokiyo was born in Yanaka, in Musashi, on the 30th March, 1658. From the home of his ancestors, Ega-gori in Bichu, he called himself Ega. From his earliest childhood he was distinguished for his love of books and unremitting diligence in study. His life was the wholly uneventful career of a professional scholar. When fifteen years of age he went to Kaga and was employed by the prince of that province. Here he lived in a dismantled cottage which he named *The Pigeon-nest*, and from the cottage he adopted the same name for himself, *Kyu-sō*, a name by which he was thenceforth known, and that is inscribed on his tomb.

Once when expounding *The Great Learning* before his prince the latter was so greatly pleased that he sent Kyusō to Kyōto to continue his studies in the school of the celebrated Kinoshita Jun-an. Here Kyusō took first rank and made great progress both in acquirements and in literary style.

From the year 1711 until his death he was employed by the Tokugawa Government and wrote several books at its command. He received the highest honour the Government could bestow, and rose to great influence and authority. He was the devoted advocate of the Tokugawa family and of the orthodox school of Chinese philosophy, and made small attempt to moderate his expressions when writing of their enemies. It was during his life that the famous forty-seven ronin performed their exploit, and Kyusō gave them the name by which they are still remembered, *Gi-shi*, the Righteous Samurai.

He died on the 9th September, 1734, and was buried at his own request in Edo, Ōdzuka, Tsukuba-yama-no-ushiro, his grave marked by a simple stone engraved, "Kyusō Murō Sensei no Haka," the grave of the scholar Kyusō Murō.⁵⁰

Since his death his reputation has increased, and he has taken a distinguished place among the scholars of Japan, being especially remembered for his great learning.

THE SHUNDAI ZATSUWA.

The Shundai Zatsuwa, Suruga Dai Miscellany, thus named from Kyusō's residence on Suruga Dai, is a posthumous work first published by his grandson in the year 1750. It purports to be a collection of talks with his friends and pupils. They would linger a while after Kyusō had completed his exposition of the Chinese books, asking questions and discussing themes suggested by the lecture. And these conversations written down were made into this book. It belongs to the class called "miscellanies," the works which best represent the spirit and the attainments of the Japanese scholars.⁵¹

The Sundai Zatsuwa covers a somewhat wide range. It contains polemic against the enemies of the faith, metaphysics, fundamental ethical principles, politics, religion, the art of war, and the laws of literature and poetry.

It has not been necessary for my purpose to translate all. The literary criticisms, the discussions of poetry and of military strategy have been omitted. So too have many of the historical incidents. Where these incidents illustrate

⁵⁰ The 光哲叢談 is the authority for these statements. His burial place is in the section of the city now called Koishikawa. He wrote many books; among them the most celebrated are the following: 大學新義義人錄 五常五倫名義 六倫衍義大意 駁台雜詠 朝鮮客舍詩 文稿 士說補正成諸士教 國喪正義 詠可錄 神儒問答 西銘洋議 大極圖述

⁵¹ Such collections are among the most valuable of the writings of the Chinese also, Confucius and Shushi, among others, using this method.

ethical principles or the ideas of the school they have been retained. But Kyusō felt moved to rescue the memory of the righteous dead from oblivion, and relates incidents which add nothing to our understanding of his ethical and philosophical views. Many Chinese allusions and illustrations have been omitted. The book is famous for its learning, and abounds in phrases and incidents that are of significance only to one thoroughly versed in Chinese history and literature. Some liberty, therefore, in the way of condensation has been taken. As the work is not a classic, and as the purpose is to set forth the ruling ideas and spirit of the Chinese philosophy in Japan, it has been thought wise to sacrifice something of technical scholarship to intelligibility. And it may be added, the retention of the literary and historical allusions in their fulness would precisely defeat the author's purpose, his ornaments in Japanese becoming blemishes in English. All that sets forth the philosophy and religion, the ethics and politics both theoretical and applied, with copious historical illustrations, have been translated. Perhaps half of the text is represented here.

The sacred memories of the past, the treasures of philosophy and religion, the high aspirations after benevolence and righteousness, the ideals of the individual and of the state stand in the Shundai Zatsuwa, upon a literary background flowing, full, poetic. No attempt has been made to transfer this literary flavour, and at the end of his labours, comparing the result with the original, the barrenness and baldness of the one with the richness and smoothness of the other, the translator can only adopt as his own the author's lament ;—" Though his philosophy is the famous music of the world, yet now is it like Eikaku's Song of Spring among a people of barbarous speech."

SHUNDAI ZATSUWA. BOOK ONE.—BENEVOLENCE.

THE AGED SCHOLAR'S PREFACE.

I was born in Musashi, and when my hair was first fastened in a queue studied the Chinese poetry and history. Thenceforth I wrote essays on themes which interested me, presented my writings to the daimyō and was entertained in their mansions. Or, with my box of books upon my back I lived like a traveller in Kyōto. Afterwards I made my home in the north,² ever studying the ancient writings, and constantly strengthened my purpose to perfect myself to the end of life. But, unexpectedly, I was summoned by my lord and returned to my native place.³ Thus have I grown old and imbecile and wait for death to pillow my head upon the hills. Many years and months have passed away and now at seventy-four, in the old age of horse or dog, though I love learning and purpose to follow the "Way," I have no virtue that fits me to be leader or teacher. Nor have I ability for aught else, and stay useless in the world. This is far other than I had purposed. So I expound that which I have learned to those who believe in the Old Man and come to him with questions. If I can help future scholars it will be the reward for my long life, and in illness and pain I comment constantly upon the books.⁴

One day after the exposition, when the talk was of the changes in the learning since the times of the Sō, one of

¹ The five books are named after the five cardinal virtues, but without especial significance.

² At fourteen or fifteen years of age his hair was tied in a queue. He lived with the samurai. And his home in the North was Kaga.

³ To Edo, by the Shōgun.

⁴ The expressions of humility are conventional. Kyusō had the highest influence and honours given by the Tokugawa to a scholar. He was admitted to the immediate presence of the Shōgun and was consulted on affairs of state.

those present expressed doubts as to the philosophy of Tei-Shu;⁵ and the Old Man replied:—

When young I too studied with worthless teachers. I conned words and wasted time until suddenly I perceived the folly of such study and resolved to seek that wisdom of the men of old which is for one's self.⁶ Yet alas! Without teacher or friend I was bewildered by the conflicting opinions of scholars, and half doubted, half believed the teaching of Tei-Shu. So the time still passed in vain until I was forty years of age when I fully accepted this philosophy,⁷ understanding that nothing could take its place. For thirty years I have read and pondered it. Looking at its heights, how transcendent! Seeking to divide it, how compact! Yet is it neither too far away and high, nor too shallow and near at hand! Should Sages again appear they would follow it! For the "Way" of Heaven and Earth is the "Way" of Gyō and Shun;⁷ the "Way" of Gyō and Shun is the "Way" of Confucius and Mencius; and the "Way" of Confucius and Mencius is the "Way" of Tei-Shu. Forsaking Tei-Shu we cannot find Confucius and Mencius. Forsaking Confucius and Mencius we cannot find Gyō and Shun; and forsaking Gyō and Shun we cannot find the "Way" of Heaven and Earth. Do not trust implicitly an aged scholar, but this I know and therefore speak. If I say that which is false, that which I have not verified, may I instantly be punished by Heaven and Earth.

⁵ The Sō, pp. 4-5 above. The philosophy of Tei-Shu, p. 5 above

⁶ A teaching that governs one's own life.

⁷ So Confucius "at forty had no doubts." Analects, II; IV, 3. At "fifteen he had his mind bent on learning."

⁷ The mythical Sage kings of China. Gyō according to the ordinary untrustworthy chronology began to reign B.C. 2357 and reigned 100 years, being succeeded by Shun, who reigned 50 years. "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. II, p. 148.

At this all present straightened themselves and listened intently. The Old Man⁸ continued ;—This has not waited for my oath, it has been determined these five hundred years. From Shushi's own time the great scholars of the Sō, the Gen and Min with all who followed the Ethical Philosophy have fully accepted him. Men of great learning debated, indeed, his style and minor points but said nothing against his philosophy.¹⁰ So until the middle of the Min, learning was pure and the celebrated truth unimpaired. Then came Ōyōmei with his intuitionism.¹¹ He attacked Shushi and changed the learning of the Min. After his death his pupils accepted the Zen¹² doctrines and thenceforth scholars were intoxicated with intuitionism and weary of natural philosophy. They were either mere memorizers or they were Buddhists. That men without one ten-thousandth of the learning of Tei-Shu should readily find fault is for a wren to mock a bo,¹³ for a caterpillar to measure the sea. As Kantaishi¹⁴ says,—“To sit in a well and, looking at the

⁸ Okina, the old man, is a title of respect.

⁹ The Gen (Xuen) dynasty was Mongol, A.D. 1280-1368, and was succeeded by the Min (Mings), 1368-1644. “The Middle Kingdom,” Vol. II., pp. 175-179.

¹⁰ The text here has a list of Chinese scholars whose names are omitted in the translation in accordance with what is said on p.—above. Of the Sō, Shiuseizan, Gikakuzan, of the Gen, Kiyorozai Kosōro, of the Min, Sek-kei-ken, Ko-kei-sai.

¹¹ Ōyōmei, p. 10 above. His “intuitionism” is the 良知學. See Mencius, Book VII., Part 1. Chap. XV., 1. p. 44 note below.

¹² The Zen sect of Buddhism, the contemplative sect which professes to use no book.

¹³ The bō is a fabulous bird of monstrous size. For “natural philosophy,” see “Ki Ri and Ten” below.

¹⁴ 韓退之 Kantaishi was one of the eight most celebrated literary men of China. He was of the time of the Tō (Tang). “He was foremost among the statesmen, philosophers, and poets of the T'ang dynasty and one of the most venerated names in Chinese litera-

sky, pronounce it small." But the superficial ignorant men who adopt these views because of their novelty are numberless.

In our land with peace for an hundred years learning has flourished. I cannot pronounce upon its value, but the ancient models and Tei-Shu have been firmly accepted, a cause for thankfulness. But of late some set forth false doctrine. They have established their school and gathered followers. Evil scholars appear above whom these men seek to advance themselves with senseless arguments, selfishly and wholly without shame. It is the fashion for all the dogs to join when one sets up his lying bark, so evil teachings and doctrines abound. Truly an evil fortune has befallen the ethical philosophy.

Kantaishi lived when Buddhism and Taoism flourished, and comparing himself to Mencius attacked them single handed with an oath,—“The Gods of Heaven and Earth are above, and to the right and left.”¹⁵ My oath has not the strength of Mencius but I do not purpose to fall behind the oath of Kantaishi. See to it that you do not hear in vain!”

PRIEST GENKU'S OATH.

The celebrated priest Genku sent his oath to Tsukinowa, Kujō, Kyōto. The document is still in the temple

ture. . . . In A.D. 819 he presented a remonstrance to the emperor Hien Tsung against the public honours with which he had caused an alleged relic of Buddha to be conveyed to the imperial palace. The text of Han Yu's (Kantai's) diatribe against the alien superstition is still renowned as one of the most celebrated of state papers. But its only effect was the banishment of the author. During his banishment Kantaishi laboured to civilize the barbarians with whom he lived, and his efforts are symbolized in a legend that he expelled a monstrous crocodile. Later he was restored to honour. Mayers, p. 50.

¹⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, XVI. The word for “Gods” here is *ki-shin*.

of Shin-kuro-tani. I have not seen it but have been told that it is as follows, "If those who say nembutsu¹⁶ go not to Heaven may I sink to Hell." Buddhists doubtless think that a strong oath, but from the point of view of our philosophy what could be more vain? If there is no heaven, of course there is no hell! It is easy to utter such oaths!

In the old days when retainers died with their lords,¹⁷ in a certain clan many samurai were determined thus to end their lives. Among them was one young man who was especially lamented by every one. His karō called at his house and sought to dissuade him. But in vain. Finally, however, as the karō continued importunate his multitude of words forced consent, and the samurai with an oath promised to forego his purpose. So the official went home content. But on the morrow when he went to the temple with those who had resolved to die together there with the rest was this samurai saying his farewells to the guests. The karō exclaimed: "Though you deceive me how dare you break your oath? It is impious!" But the samurai laughed as he replied, "Forgive me for deceiving you. Yesterday had I not sworn you would not have left me, so I swore to satisfy you. As to the gods, though they punish me there is nothing more than death, and as I had determined to die I swore purposing to break my oath." The karō had not a word to say.

Such was priest Genku's oath. He knew there is no Hell, nothing beyond falling into the grave. But my oath is not like these. "With sovereign Heaven above, and treading the sovereign Earth beneath,"¹⁸ by Heaven and Earth

¹⁶ The Buddhist prayer, *Namu Amida-butsu*.

¹⁷ The custom was only abolished finally in A.D. 1664; Lay's "Japanese Funeral Rites," Vol. XIX., Pt. III., p. 528 of these "Transactions." A karō was the minister of a daimyō.

¹⁸ The commentary on *The Spring and Autumn*, Book V., Year XV. p. 165 of the Chinese Classics, Legge's edition.

I swear. So like Genku I purpose to swear for my "Way" but if my oath is false I am punished by Heaven and Earth. Consider, in Buddhism "is" becomes "is not"¹⁹ and truth is made falsehood. Only as that which "is not" becomes that which "is" can we make that which "is" into that which "is not." Only as we turn lies into truth can we turn truth into lies. Though we know that this talk of Heaven and Hell is false, still is it taught as if falsehood and truth were one. So is it taught to many men without distinction of wise and foolish, that if we say nembutsu punishment will be destroyed. This is Buddha's mystery. And here in Japan are many priests who are like the founders of sects who hold this mystery in their hearts. They transfer it from heart to heart and never say that all the talk of Heaven and Hell is false. Genku's oath was such a propagating oath. There is neither Heaven for Tsukinowa nor Hell for Genku. "Is not" is put for "is" and lies for truth, that men may be separated from birth and death. Such was Buddha's purpose.

Compare their scheme with our philosophy which guides men by the very truth! The difference is as the difference between the clouds and the earth.

HERESIES MANY.

Once when the Old Man was ill his friends came to see him and he begged them to stay and cheer his loneliness. So they spent the day in conversation about the prevalent opinions. And one remarked: "I have heard the leading scholars of Edo and Kyōto. Some expound what they call our national religion and confound it with the Way of the

¹⁹ This refers to the Buddhist hōben, pious devices to lead the ignorant to virtue.

Gods : others follow Ōyōmei and his intuitionism ; and others explain the ancient learning after new principles. Where is the truth in this confusion of strange and familiar opinions ? What in your heart do you think ?" And the Old Man replied :—

"I too have heard of these schools which have established themselves and teach heresy. Their wisdom is such as you described. But I cannot agree with them. For the "Way" is from Heaven and its source is one. If we know that source we shall not distinguish the religion of our country from that of foreign lands ; nor will intuitionism be opposed to natural philosophy ; nor will the learning of the Sages be put in opposition to Tei-Shu. The classical literature teaches all this, but it is not easy nor to be understood unless studied with humble and single minds. But scholars now-a-days are proud, and few of them thoroughly study the Tei-Shu works. Without knowing even the hedge of Tei-Shu they make their own hearts supreme and readily refute those great scholars. We shall postpone the consideration of their learning. We grieve over their thin, light, restless, shallow learning. They have not thoroughly studied Confucius and Mencius and do not understand them, so how can they fail to doubt Tei-Shu ? They superficially attack them but I hear of no attacks on Confucius and Mencius. It is not that these scholars do not doubt the Sages but they know that Confucius and Mencius have been honoured and accepted by the world for two thousand years and that it will not listen to attacks upon them. But Shushi is modern and some in the age of the Min attacked him, so they feel at liberty to revile him. "They act according to the man" and not from established principles. They know that their philosophy can in no wise equal that of the Sages, and so make their excuses while they permit themselves to revile Shushi. Thus they hope to exalt themselves above him. But be that as it may !

As to Shintō, it professes to help our country and calls

the Sages rebels.²⁰ Such a "Way of the Gods" is apart from Benevolence and Righteousness.

The illustrious virtue of intuitionism is only the "nature" of the Buddhists. The intuitionists call Musashibo Benkei²¹ a samurai of wisdom, humanity and bravery! Such intuitionism is not of a heart that can distinguish good and evil.

And there are men professing the ancient learning who declare that the Great Learning is not the work of a Sage,²² and that Confucianism and Buddhism are one! Such ancient learning is apart from virtue.²³

The Old Man doubts all these teachings. Only the philosophy of Tei-Shu unites outer and inner, includes Benevolence and Righteousness, makes past and present one, and is the orthodox school descended in a straight line from Confucius and Mencius. My only deep anxiety is that its followers will merely argue and expound instead of practising what they preach. Such orthodoxy avails nothing. This evil abounded in the time of the Min, and so it was that

²⁰ See Vol. III, Appendix, of the Transactions, The "Revival of Pure Shin-tau" pp. 20-31 for the Shintō attack on the Chinese philosophy. The "holy men" of China are there called "merely successful rebels." And in like spirit were they reviled long ago in China, "The Divine Classic of Nan-Hua" Balfour's, translation, pp. 112-113.

²¹ Musashibo Benkei. The priest and robber samurai who became the most trusted retainer of Minamoto Yoshitsune.

²² If by a Sage the author means Confucius then the Great Learning is not by a Sage, but is accepted as containing his teaching. The Chinese Classics, Vol. I. Prolegomena pp. 26-27. The author in the sections devoted to literature shows some familiarity with the results at least of criticism, but he does not apply it to the classics, uncritically accepting everything as written by Confucius which tradition ascribed to him.

²³ For the Ancient Learning School, see Mr. Haga's "Note" and my "Comment" below. The "Illustrations Virtue" is a phrase of the Ōyōmei School, p. 13, above.

Öyōmei could reproach Shushi with this side issue. This is the source of heresy and the classics ever forbid such forgetfulness of practice and indulgence in empty talk. It is a subject for the most profound consideration.

THE BLIND OF HEART.

Then one remarked: "We agree that we can best overcome heresy by exhorting each other and striving after right-conduct. So did Mencius when he replied to the attack of Yo-Bu²⁴ for he disregarded the charge of being disputatious and concluded his exposition of fundamental principles saying: "The superior man returns to the right line." Still more should we degrade the "Way" now-a-days when heresies and heretics are like weeds on a plain and evit principles and contemptible opinions are like the fallen leaves of a forest, were we to reply to each one. Recently I was astounded at the words of a philosopher: "The way comes not from Heaven," said he, "it was invented by the sages. Nor is it in accord with nature; it is a mere matter of æsthetics and ornament."²⁵ Of the five relations only the conjugal is natural, while loyalty, filial obedience and the rest were invented by the sages and have been maintained on their authority ever since." Surely among all heresies from ancient days until now none has been so monstrous as this."

The listeners at this spoke together and laughed, and the Old Man said:—

"You know Sotōba's²⁶ parable about the sun? A man

²⁴ Mencius, Book III: Pt. II., Chapter IX. The quotation is not verbal.

²⁵ So from the beginning, because of the stress laid on rites.

²⁶ Sōtōba 蘇東彼 was one of the most famous of the Chinese literary men. He was of the time of the Sū (Sung) dynasty. He was of the orthodox school, and, was statesman and poet as well as philosopher. *Mayers*, p. 190.

born blind once asked: "What is the sun like?" and was told: "It is round like this gong," the speaker tapping the gong as he spoke. Oh! It has a voice! the blind man thought. And another said, "It gives light," and put a candle before his eyes. The blind man touched the candle and thought: "The sun is long and slender!"

So is it with most men. Though they read books they are in the dark as to principles, and with open eyes they are blind in heart. And their much thinking is like this blind man's study of the sun. How can they fail to err! It is not necessary to discuss such opinions: it would be like discussing good and evil with men who have no hearts. Those who argue with them are like unto them.

I know the origin of such notions. These men are mere students of the letter. They like to hunt through a multitude of books but do not establish their hearts upon the classics. They study words and commentaries but do not seek the profound truth. They are ignorant of their own darkness and are given over to learned vanity and the love of empty praise. So has it been since the time of the Min. These men desire high things, revile the former superior men and set themselves above the scholars of the past. But the wise man sees that their learning is "remote" and that they are intoxicated with the poison of Jun and So²⁷ and that their style is a mere culling of the ornaments of Ori.²⁸ With their heretical learning they declare that the "Way" is not from Heaven. Testing it with their own base hearts they say that only the conjugal relation is

²⁷ Jun and So 荀子 莊子 Taoist writers. Jun was distinguished as a scholar and statesman. He committed suicide A.D. 212. So is the famous Chang, author of "The Divine Classic of Nan-Hua" (trans. by F. H. Balfour) Mayers p. 198 and p. 30.

²⁸ Writers notorious for the meretricious ornamentation of their style.

"natural." Their arguments are weak but many believe them and the world seems to fancy their base opinions. We shall grieve indeed that thus they may increasingly injure the minds of men, and the accepted truth. To prevent such evil, empty words were punished in the Book of Rites.²⁹

But in such a world for me, without talent or virtue, to stop the evil is to prop up a great house with a single stick. Who would believe my polemic or my exposition? And how should I escape the reproach of not knowing the limits of my powers? The Tei-Shu philosophy is like the ceremonial robes of former kings; but this is like selling the garments of civilized men to savages. Though his philosophy is the celebrated music of the world yet now is it like Eikaku's Song of Spring³⁰ among a people of barbarous speech. As the Book of Poetry says: "Who knows me says: He has sorrow in his heart; Who knows me not says: Something he seeks; Blue, distant Sky! What man is this?"³¹ So sang the officer of Shu in his sorrow over the downfall of the house of Shu, and such is my grief over the decay of the "Way."

THE FOOL'S MOUNTAIN.

But I do not seek collaborators in this present age. Evil customs and false opinions from of old have flourished like rootless things, and bloom, with noisy reputation, for an

²⁹ 用禮 This reference to the punishment of "vain words" was not an empty threat. The Tokugawa government forbade all deviation from the Tei-Shu system in its schools, and the great provincial school went still further.

³⁰ The Historical Records. 史記

³¹ The Shih King, Lessons from the States, Book VI. Ode 1 "On seeing the desolation of the old capital of Kau." Sacred Books of the East, Vol. III, p. 439.

hour. As the ages pass there is a sure return to the "Way" though to look for it in haste shows inexperience.

You know the works of Resshi.²² He tells of a Mr. Fool who with his children laboured every day with pick and basket removing a mountain that stood inconveniently near his house. Mr. Wiseman jeered at the folly: "How can a few men remove a mountain?" But Mr. Fool replied: "I begin the task, my children continue it, their children after them and grandchildren's children labour on and finally it will be done." Thereat Mr. Wiseman laughed the more.

Such conduct men call silly and such men fools, and the critics are called "wise." But with such a "fool's" heart anything in heaven or earth can be done. And the men of wisdom with "Mr. Wiseman's" heart laugh at the Fool's mountain and accomplish nothing. For the world's folly is wisdom and its wisdom folly.

After my death comes a day that will settle this debate of an hundred years. Meanwhile men laugh at my round-about ways, but I am old and stubborn, determined to go on in this purpose to the end. You may class me with Mr. Fool and his hill.

THE OLD PRIEST'S TREE-GRAFTING.

But I have another thought. Beyond Shinobu-ga-oka is a village called Yanaka with a temple of the Shin-gon sect; and there I often played when a boy. Once I heard a priest tell this story:—

In the period Kan-ei (A.D. 1624–1643) the Shōgun came to Yanaka on a hawking expedition, and as he followed the birds, chanced upon the temple with only an attendant or two.

²² Res-shi 列子 A Chinese metaphysician of the age preceeding Confucius. Mayers p. 126. His writings were edited in the fourth century A.D. and take high rank among Taoist writings.

An old priest eighty years of age was grafting trees, and, with no notion of the Shōgun's rank, continued at his work. The Shōgun said: "What are you doing, Priest?" The priest thought the question foolish and replied shortly: "Grafting trees." The Shōgun laughed: "Such an old priest will not live to see them grow. What is the profit in your hard work?" The priest returned: "Who are you that says such a heartless thing? Consider! The trees will be big enough to darken the temple in the time of future priests. I work for the temple, not for myself alone." The Shōgun was filled with admiration. Meanwhile attendants kept coming up bearing the Shōgun's crest, and the priest recognizing his visitor fled in dismay. But the Shōgun called him back and rewarded him.

I am like this old priest. To the end of life I study the established principles, teach and write books that there may be the beginning of true learning in a future age. If I can help the "Way" one ten-thousandth, though I die still shall I live.²⁸ As one of old said: "Though dead the bones do not decay." So think I. I do not labour for myself at all. Believe me! Such is the Old Man's heart.

SEKKŌ'S DRAGON.

But deep would be my shame were I to be like Sekkō. From youth have I cherished the Sages and superior men, reading their books, but I know them only from books and

²⁸ Said Laotz: "He who dies but perishes not enjoys longevity." "Tau Teh King" p. 26. Chalmers' translation. "This is identical with the Comtist version of immortality; the man lives on in the posthumous results of his former works." Balfour. "Chuang Tsze" xix, note.

"O may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence:"

understand only the beginning of their true character. Were I to meet a living Sage who should prove different from those I have been cherishing, might I not hate him? I have such fears. And if I at all hate the Sages then all I say is false, a shame not comparable to the shame of hills and valleys. And how then should I wait for the coming age?

In the olden time Sekkō fancied dragons, painted them and spent days and nights in loving them. A real dragon heard of it and thought, if he is so devoted to painted dragons if I visit him how he will love me! So straightway he put his head through the window, but Sekkō fled panic-struck!

Among the scholars of the east and the west are some true men but most of them are proud and vain, desirous only of reputation and applause while professing to love the Sages. Should they meet a living sage they could not look him in the face. Their daily admiration is like Sekkō's devotion to dragons. Learning without the practice of virtue is like swimming in a field. In illustration of my meaning I will tell you a story of thirty years ago.

In Kaga I had a friend, a samurai of low rank named Sugimoto. While absent in Adzuma with his lord his son Kujurō, who was fifteen years old, quarrelled with a neighbor's son of the same age over a game of *go*, lost his self control and before he could be seized drew his sword and cut the boy down. While the wounded boy was under the surgeon's care Kujurō was in custody, but he showed no fear and his words and acts were calm beyond his years. After some days the boy died and Kujurō was condemned to *hara-kiri*. The officer in charge gave him a farewell feast the night before he died. He calmly wrote to his mother, took ceremonious farewell of his keeper and all in the house, and then said to the guests: I regret to leave you all and should like to stay and talk till day-break; but I must not be sleepy when I commit *hara-kiri* to-morrow so I'll go to-

bed at once. Do you stay at your ease and drink the wine. So he went to his room and fell asleep, all being filled with admiration as they heard him snore. On the morrow he arose early, bathed, dressed himself with care, made all his preparations with perfect calmness and then, quiet and composed, killed himself. No old, trained, self-possessed samurai could have excelled him. No one who saw it could speak of it for years without tears.

At the beginning of the affair I wrote to his father : "Though Kujurō commit hara-kiri he is so calm and collected there need be no regret. Be at peace." But as Sugimoto read the letter he remarked : "A child often will be brave enough as others encourage it before the moxa is applied, and yet burst into tears when it feels the heat. My child is so young that I cannot be at peace until I hear that he has done the deed with bravery." As the proverb says, "Only such fathers have such sons." I have told you this that Kujurō may be remembered. It would be shameful were it to be forgotten that so young a boy performed such a deed.

But there is another reason also. Were I and all who study the words and mimic the actions of the ancient Sages to meet a living one different from our notions we should be like the child who cries as he feels the moxa applied. Surely it were shameful to study for years, attain the name of philosopher, and yet be less brave than this child Kujurō.

Therefore examine yourselves with this thought.

HENJAKU CASTS AWAY HIS MEDICINE-SPOON.

At a later meeting the Old Man said: I have not finished what I was saying the other day about learning true and false. To day I'll make an end.

Three classes of scholars attack Shushi :

1st, the school of Ōyōmei. Ōyōmei was a strong man, and although his arguments will not stand examination still

he was not wholly without reason. For in his day most scholars were busy with words and phrases and neglected self-examination. So he supposed that the "science" of Shushi was apart from righteousness and with his "intuitions" sought to examine himself. We approve his purpose. But Shushi's "science" does not neglect our intuitions but shows that they arise from "things." Apart from "things" can we seek our intuitions, after the fashion of Ōyōmei? But are not the classics, the ceremonies and music the teaching of former kings? What are these if not "things"? There are the six classics and the hundred deeds. Loyalty and disloyalty, truth and falsehood, we know their principles by "things." If intuitively we know all about reverence what need for the study of the ceremonies? And if by nature we are peaceful what need for music? Again, if intuitively we can govern our actions, making progress in loyalty and truth, if there is so short and easy a path why did not the sages teach it instead of their long and difficult "Way"? Then further, with what shall we employ these "intuitions" if not with "things"? "Surely" they will say, "in self examination and and casting away lust we will employ our intuitions." Let me illustrate: The knowledge of the five sounds is by the ears, so let us mind our ears and know the five sounds without hearing them! And the knowledge of the five colours is by the eyes; let us attend to them and know the five colours without seeing them! And the knowledge of the five tastes is by the mouth, so if we have a care for it we shall know them without eating! Is it not plain that though the knowledge of the five sounds and of the rest is in ourselves, yet the colours, sounds and tastes are in "things" and that we know them only as we listen, look and eat? Still less can we know the finer distinctions of light and deep in colour, of pure and impure in in sounds, and of delicate and harsh in tastes apart from things, for these differences are in the things.³⁴

³⁴ Koku-butsu-gaku I translate "science." It is thus explained:

Without study we know that we must love our parents and reverence our elder brother, yet by our performance of these duties do we investigate the principles. So is it with all the hundred virtues of the Superior Man. If we are not thus "scientific" but use our intuitions merely, we shall not distinguish good and evil. Since filial piety is the beginning of the hundred virtues. I'll speak of that a while.

All filial sons know such precepts as "In the morning reflect and in the evening consider."⁸⁵ Yet even that is not known to the rustics who do not lack loving hearts. Still more as to "nourishing" our parents, all nourish them, yet is there the difference between merely caring for the body and nourishing also the heart. And though all reverence parents, yet many do not follow the severe, strict way with such precepts as,—“Do not speak of old age before them,”⁸⁶ and “Do not speak angrily before them, not even to a dog or horse.”⁸⁵ All this is included in filial piety, and though a Sage might fulfil this law without learning the particulars one by one, surely not so an ordinary scholar.

格物 "Distinction of things is simply the same as study because all study is a discriminating contemplation of things whether real or abstract. Certainly one must contemplate them until from them a principle 理 has been drawn....It may therefore be said, 格物 is a sifting of materials. But it is not natural science...it refers to men." "A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius," p. 55. See the Great Learning, 4-5, "Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things" The Chinese Classics, Vol. I: p. 222, Legge's translation.

⁸⁵ These quotations are from the "Book of Rites."

⁸⁶ Book VII., Part I., Chap. XV., 1. The ability possessed by men without being acquired by learning is intuitive learning, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge." Legge's translation. The Chinese Classics, vol. II., p. 332.

Such an one would not simply fail to fulfil the whole law, he would fall into actual transgressions.

We are not to cease obeying for the sake of study, nor must we establish all the laws before we begin to obey. In our obedience we are to establish its rightness or wrongness, examining ourselves as we read what the Sages say, tasting them carefully and reading them throughout. All the virtues are illustrated by what I have said. This is the scientific philosophy. Follow this course constantly and learn thoroughly these laws and at last you will not err, though you simply follow the dictates of your filial love. This is Tei-Shu's mystery, but only those who strive earnestly can know its flavour.

The expression of Mencius, "To know without learning is intuitive knowledge"⁹⁷ means that there is in man, before he studies, a heart which loves parent and reverences elder brother. Make that heart the foundation, study and we shall strengthen that power. Mencius did not teach that we can be perfect without study! This attempt to correct Shushi by casting aside the natural philosophy is not merely to misunderstand him. It is so to straighten the crooked that it bends backward.

2nd.—The scholars who reject the "ri-ki-tai-yo"⁹⁸ doctrine of Shushi and declare that it is not taught by Confucius and Mencius. But in reply we remember that Confucius said "The nature is alike;"⁹⁹ and Mencius said, "The nature is good"¹⁰⁰ and he further set forth the "yo-ki-ya-ki" doctrine which is not in the more ancient books. Confucius did not use these words of Shushi, but the scholars of the Sō did not offend against his principles. They knew none of these doubts and especially praised the

⁹⁷ 理氣體用 (law, spirit, body, activity).

⁹⁸ Analects, Book XVII; Chap. II.

⁹⁹ Book VI, Part I Chap. VI.

discovery of what the Sages had not taught. The age of the Sô was long after Confucius and Mencius, and the scholars were busy with arguments and in the explanation of the "Way," and were not so careful to repeat the words of the Sages so long as their principles were not violated. When Shushi teaches that which is not in Confucius and Mencius, let us learn his meaning by careful thought and study. If there seem to be disagreement let us restrain our doubts, for if we declare that his doctrine does not please us and that it is opposed to the Sages the superficiality of our scholarship will be manifest. Such notions show shallow carelessness. I cannot argue all of these points but will speak in brief of *ki* and *ri* (spirit and law.)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Book II, Part I Chap. II, 9-16. Dr. Legge translates "*ki*" 氣 "passion nature" and remarks.—"On 浩然之氣 there is much vain babbling in the Comm. to show how the 氣 of heaven and earth is the 氣 also of man." And he translates 13 thus, "This is the passion nature: it is exceedingly great and exceedingly strong. Being nourished by rectitude, and sustaining no injury, it fills up all between heaven and earth." The Tei-Shu school would perhaps question who is here guilty of vain babbling. If men like our author and his master Shushi understood the classics, the 氣 of heaven and earth may well be identified with the 氣 in man. Indeed I do not see how their philosophy can be otherwise explained. Dr. Legge elsewhere writes; "Khi (*ki*), or 'spirit,' is the breath, still material but purer than the Zing (essence) and belongs to the finer, and more active part of the ether." "The Yi King" p. 355 note, Vol. XVI "Sacred Books of the East." And again he writes,—"The name of the intelligent spirit is literally 'the knowing breath' 'the breath' being used like the Hebrew *ruach* and the Latin *spiritus*." "I have adduced it to show how he (Confucius) held that, while man's body crumbles and returns to the dust at death, the liberated spirit, 'the breath' as he phrases it, ascends to a brighter state." "The Religions of China" pp. 119-121. In fact the Stoic '*pneuma*' is the "*ki*" of the school of Tei-Shu, and so of the dominant system of Chinese thought to our day:—"The human soul, as

These scholars say: "In Heaven and Earth there is only spirit (ki), flowing through the four seasons; it produces all things and naturally ceases not. This is the Way of Heaven. Clearly is it as we see it. It is nonsense for Shushi to put above this spirit another formless thing called law."⁴¹ Even in China there were formerly many scholars who could not rid themselves of these doubts though they professed to have studied carefully Shushi. They at least did not settle the matter at a glance like our Japanese scholars. Of course I cannot pretend to settle the mysterious question of the priority of ki or ri at a sitting, but I will talk a while, taking an illustration from Laotze.⁴²

"Reckoning up the wheel there is no wheel; reckoning up the year, there is no year." Let us see, this is the rim, this the hub, this the axle, this the spoke; but the rim is not the wheel, nor the hub, nor the axle, nor the spokes. Yet if we cast these away the wheel goes too. But the law of the wheel preceded it and before the wheel was made the

defined by the Stoics, is an inborn breath. . . . It is a part severed from the Deity." "The latter pervades the world as an all pervading breath. . . . The human soul is a part of the Deity, or an emanation from the same; the soul and its source act and react upon each other. The soul is the warm breath in us'. Opinions differed as to its life after the death of the body. Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, Vol. I, pp. 194-196, Eng. trans. See "Ki Ri and Ten" below.

⁴¹ See the Chinese Repository, Vol. XIII, pp. 552,603 et seq. for a translation of Shushi's exposition of these words. Medhurst there translates "ri" immaterial principle and "ki" primary matter. McClatchie translates "ri" by "fate" and "ki" by "air" "Confucian Cosmogony." Eitel, above p., translates by "law" and "vital energy." I by "spirit," and "law," the former in the Stoic sense of *pneuma*. Griffith John translates "ri" "immaterial principle" and "ki" material principle. See my "Comment" below for a summary of Shushi's teaching.

⁴² This quotation is not found in the Tao Teh King.

principle was determined. And because the law is imperishable the carpenter follows it and makes the wheel. See then! Does the wheel come from the spokes and rim or do these come from the wheel? If we say the wheel comes from the parts we know its form but not its law.

So with the year. Twelve hours make one day, thirty days make a month, twelve months make a year. This then we say, is an hour, a day, a month or a year, and if we cast them aside, without them there is no year. But on the three hundred and sixty-sixth day sun and earth return and meeting make the year. For the year is not in day or month, but its "law" was determined first and sun and moon revolve according to this plan. So for ages calendars have been made, and for years and days that are not yet, for an hundred years to come as for the hundred years past. For the "law" is not in day or month but is forever. So is it that "Heaven speaks not, yet the four seasons labour and all things are produced."⁴⁸ For this is the centre, the main pillar of Heaven and Earth, the four seasons work by it and all things are begotten. This is the meaning of the expression: Reckoning up the wheel there is no wheel, and reckoning up the year there is no year."

Separated from "spirit" is no "law" for thus without form or place we should say simply "reason" (*dori*). Confucius by the shape separated the upper and the lower and over against the utensil placed the "Way"; and so Shushi by the form separated the before and after and over against the "spirit" placed the "law." The reasoning is the same. To neglect the fundamental reason and argue from the leaves and branches is to cause only confusion: no conclusion can be reached.

In like manner we reason of "body" and "activity." Where is activity there is always body. Body is quiet,

⁴⁸ Analects, Book XVII, Chap., XIX, 3.

motionless, activity moves and acts. Quietly nourished activity dwells with body, reflecting and moving body works with activity. This is what the expression, body and activity are one in origin without the least separation, means. Confucius said: "The Superior Man reforms that which is within with reverence, and establishes that which is without with righteousness."⁴⁴ Shishi said: "With moderation and harmony establish the universal way."⁴⁵ And Mencius: "Benevolence and righteousness are the great and holy way."⁴⁶ Without the words "body" and "activity" yet is the reason the same in all, and "body" and "activity" are in them all. But that crooked school of scholars rests content with the trifles it knows, and of course does not understand that perfect body and great activity are included in the "Way." There is no necessity for a thorough argument with them.

3rd.—These scholars are dissolute and weary of the illustrious virtue. They study only books and words. When once they hear the saying of Shushi: "With care and reverence establish the truth," they think it the common place of an antiquated scholar. They do not know that philosophers study by self-examination. As they noisily assail the ears of men with their babble, no reply is to be made to them. We can only draw a deep sigh.

Henjaku twice prescribed for the Duke of Sei, but the third time as he could do nothing more he cast away his medicine spoon and fled in dismay. Daily the disease of

⁴⁴ Book of Changes, Appendix IV, Section II, 6

⁴⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, Chap. I. 4-5. Shishi was Grandson of Confucius.

⁴⁶ Book I, Part I, Chapter I, 3 amplified by the author.

philosophy increases. Even Henjaku could not cure it. Still less can I, aged and talentless. I can only cover my mouth and flee in dismay.⁴⁷

THE VIRTUE OF THE GODS.

When, one day, five or six students remained after the lecture to ask questions, one said:—I have a question. Many scholars explain 'Shin-tō' by saying that 'Japan is the Land of the Gods.' But their teaching is fantastic and opposed to reason. Since even the Sage did not speak lightly of the Gods⁴⁸ such men as we cannot understand it. We wish your help. We shall gain food for future thought. And as all were of one mind Okina replied:—

In the Book of Changes it is said, "The Sages formed their teaching by the Way of the Gods."⁴⁹ That is, their teaching is called 'The Way of the Gods' to manifest its Divine mystery, as we speak of the Way of Benevolence. But the 'Way of the Gods' is not a religion by itself. So I cannot accept that which is popularly called Shin-tō and that is exalted above the teaching of the Sages as our native religion. I do not profess to understand the profound reason of the Divinities but in outline this is my idea:—

The Doctrine of the Mean speaks of the "virtue of the Gods"⁵⁰ and Shushi explains this word "virtue" to mean "the heart and its revelation." Its meaning is thus stated

⁴⁷ Henjaku (Pien Ts'iao) was the title given to a physician who lived in the State of Chao about the sixth century B.C. He was instructed in the mystic art of healing by a Sage possessed of magic powers. Henjaku dissected the human body. The Chinese theory of the pulses is derived from his discoveries. Mayers's "Manual" p. 172.

⁴⁸ Analects VII; 20.

⁴⁹ Appendix I: Sec. I: Hex. XX: 3.

⁵⁰ XVI: 1

in the Saden, "God is pure intelligence, and justice."⁵¹ Now all know that God is just but do not know that he is intelligent. But there is no such intelligence elsewhere as God's. Man hears by the ear and where the ear is not he hears not though as quick of hearing as Shikō; and man sees with his eyes and where they are not he sees not, though as quick of sight as Rirō;⁵² and with his heart man thinks and the swiftest thought takes time. But God uses neither ear nor eye, nor does he pass over in thought. Directly he feels, and directly does he respond. This then we should know is not two or three but just the virtue received from the one truth. Thus, in Heaven and Earth is a being of quickest eye and ear, separated from no time or place, now in this manner, communicating instantaneously, embodied in all things, filling the universe. Having of course neither form nor voice it is not seen nor heard by men. When there is truth it feels and when it feels it responds. When there is no truth it feels not and when it feels not there is no response. Responding at once it is, not responding it naturally is not. Is not this the Divinity of Heaven and Earth? So the Doctrine of the Mean says: "Looked for it cannot be seen, listened to it cannot be heard. It enters into all things! There is nothing without it."⁵³

⁵¹ The oldest commentary on The Spring and Autumn. Book. III., Year XXIII, Part II., Dr. Legge translates, (Chinese Classics, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 120) "The spirits are intelligent, correct, impartial." The word "spirits" is "shin" (kami) and in our passage can be rendered only by God or Gods.

⁵² Rirō could distinguish a single hair at the distance of an hundred paces. Mayers, p. 119. Shikō had magical powers of hearing.

⁵³ XVI; 1. 3 Legge translates in the plural: "We look for them" the text of course having no distinction of number.

It is like Priest Saigyō's verse at the Shrines in Ise,⁵⁴
"Though not knowing what it is, Grateful tears he weeps."

Are not his tears from his perception of truth? Before the shrine he stands, single hearted, direct, with truth; and to his truth God also comes and they commune, and so it is he weeps.

As the reflection in the clear water answers to the moon, and together moon and pool increase the light, so if continually in the one truth they are dissolved we cannot distinguish God and man, even as sky and water, water and sky unite in one. "Everywhere, everywhere, on the right He seems and on the left."⁵⁵ This is the revealing of God, the truth not to be concealed. Think not that God is distant but seek Him in the heart, for the heart is the House of God. Where there is no obstacle of lust, of one spirit with the God of Heaven and Earth there is this communion. But except by this communion there is not such a thing. Saigyō did not weep before he went to the shrine and by this we know God came.

And now for the application. Examine yourselves, make the truth of the heart the foundation, increase in learning and at last you will attain. Then you will know the truth of what I speak.

As thus he spoke all were silent, impressed by the great thoughts of the aged philosopher. They too shed grateful tears like the priest before the shrine.

⁵⁴ Saigyō was a celebrated retainer of Yoritomo who became a priest. He died A.D. 1198.

⁵⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, XVI:8; Legge translates, "Like overflowing water they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of the worshippers."

THE TRUTH OF THE SAGE.

The Old Man continued: Consider the saying, "Shun by doing nothing rules."⁵⁶ The truth of the Sage is Divine. When anything there is we cannot use this phrase "doing nothing." Not knowing what it is or why but only that it is most holy and Divine "grateful tears he weeps." When the Sage enrobed with folded arms is in the place of power⁵⁷ the empire honours him as the sun and moon, imitates him as one imitates his parents and communes with him more than with the formless God of Heaven and Earth. Wherever he goes there is reformation as the fluid shapes itself to the vessel. When Shun was a farmer all naturally sought the enlargement of their neighbor's fields, and when he was a potter all turned out pieces without flaws. His thought is Divine and accomplishes that on which his heart rests as readily as one turns his hand. When Confucius would work reformation he merely rested in the place and the result was attained, and when he willed to move men, all followed in peace. How far is this from the thoughts of ordinary men!⁵⁸

The Sages did not "do" wonders, but their truth cannot be hidden. When the Superior Man utters a word within his room the response comes from a thousand miles and still more is his neighborhood reformed. And if an evil word is spoken a thousand miles are changed, and still more

⁵⁶ Analects XV; 4.

⁵⁷ Book of Changes, Appendix 1 Sec., I, I, 5. Doctrine of the Mean, Chap. XXXI.

⁵⁸ Mencius, Book VII., Pt. I Chap. XIII, 3. "Wherever the superior man passes through transformation follows; wherever he abides his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad above and beneath like that of Heaven and Earth." Legge's translation. This application of the influence of the ideal sage to the historical Confucius is remarkably at variance with the facts of his ill success as a statesman when alive.

is the immediate neighborhood corrupted.⁵⁹ Not instantly does it go a thousand miles, but as the wind moves from blade of grass to blade so does that done in private go from house to province and on, increasing, to the empire. This is the nature of things, the truth that cannot be hidden. So the superior man is busy with self-reformation and cares nothing for outward effect and ornament, yet are his hidden riches revealed like a silken robe worn beneath a worthless wrap. But the vulgar man cares nothing for self-culture and only for display, like him who vainly seeks to cover up decay which yet increasingly manifests itself.

Maijō reproved the king of Go: "If you would not that men should know, do not act; and if you would not have them hear, do not speak."⁶⁰ This is a celebrated saying, simple in expression but profound in meaning. To speak evil or to do it, thinking it will not be known, is to add interest to the principal and to bind a burden on the back which grows heavy day by day. At last its weight is great, how shall it be concealed? All sin, except the Sage, even the superior man. But the superior man does not attempt to conceal his faults, but reforms them in the sight of men. Error and repentance are without attempt at concealment and thus virtue is increased. The error of the superior man is like the eclipse of the sun or moon, all see the error and all are impressed by his repentance.⁶¹ Though less than the truth of the Sage when men see such a face and hear such words they believe and follow, nor is any exertion necessary. This is the true "communion." It never can be rivalled by the leadership of wisdom, power or gifts. How partial the saying, "Good stays within the gates but evil goes a thousand miles." Both when real go everywhere.

⁵⁹ Book of Changes, Appendix III: Sec. I: Chap. VIII, 42.

⁶⁰ 續文章軌範卷三放膽文十六枚 Zoku-Bun-Sho-Ki-Han-Ken-no-San. Ho-Tan-Bun-16-Mai.

⁶¹ Mencius, Book II, Pt. II, Chap. IX., 4. Analects, Book XIX Chap. XXI.

MONSTERS ARISE FROM MAN.

A listener asked:—Since God is just and quick to perceive there may well be such communion with truth. But tradition from of old speaks of the appearance of evil things. Does reason account for them also? And the Old Man replied:

The Gods are the activity of Heaven and Earth, the good power of the In and Yō⁶² and of course of the true "law." Man's nature is originally good but as it is individualized good and evil appear.⁶³ So too as God descends to man's world there is good and evil. For though the working through the four seasons of the spirit of the five elements of the In and Yō is of the right "law" of Heaven

⁶² The so-called male and female principles of Chinese cosmogony. See Mr. Haga's "Note."

⁶³ There is an ideal nature which is good. It is the same with the "ri," the "law," but when it is individualized, when it unites with the "ki-nature," both good and evil appear. This "ki-nature" varies, is thin or dense, is the air, the breath, the essence of the five elements, forms matter. It is in man as his "spirit" which may therefore be thought of as material, but matter might also be thought of as etherial. The spirit within us "feels" the spirit without and the latter "responds." So there is a revelation of the invisible, a theophany, but it is of the will of man and not of the will of God, p. 51 above. Evil seems to be confusion, the good powers appearing at the wrong times. The five elements are wood, fire, earth, metal, water. Perhaps the five elements would be better translated, "the five activities" manifested in the five elements. I am indebted for this suggestion, as for many others, to the Rev. H. Waddell, A. B.

The word spirit throughout this piece represents the character "ki" 氣. See the Journal of the N. China Asiatic Soc. Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 37-44.

and Earth and not of evil at all, yet as that "spirit" is scattered throughout the universe and confused there arise unexpectedly winds, heat, cold and storms. Thus naturally there are evil spirits which are known as they are felt by men. When with a righteous "spirit" we feel, the righteous "spirits" respond; and when with an evil "spirit" we feel, the evil "spirits" respond. And as both good and bad come from this "feeling and response" with the In and Yō we cannot refuse to call the bad also, gods. In Heaven and Earth is no place where these "spirits" are not. The "feeling" of the good "spirits" whether great or small is all of the pure heart. So in the empire have the good qualities of humble men been perceived miraculously; and, in a private station frost has been perceived in summer and Kantaishi "felt" the alligator in the evil valley.⁶⁴ Such events are extraordinary, but they are not to be doubted and are all caused by the pure "feeling."

I read a while ago, in the writings of Shinseisan, of the daughter of a farmer. Her father was ill and she prayed that she might suffer in his stead. Because of this "feeling and response" for one night many birds sang round the house, three great stars shone in the sky, lighting up the caves like the moon; and in the morning the farmer was well. Seisan was the head of the village and knew the facts. He named the place,—*"The village of great filial piety,"* and set up a memorial. This is a certain fact and an illustration of the feeling of which I speak.

But in a degenerate age man's heart is evil; for the most part he "feels" the evil spirits and monsters appear. The Sage did not speak of wonders,⁶⁵ of feats of strength, confusions or divinities, yet as their "law" is included in "the distinction of things," they must be mentioned.

⁶⁴ Above note 14.

⁶⁵ *Analects* VII; 20.

In the Saden, Shinju of Rō thus writes of monsters:—
 “When men fear then monsters arise by the flickering flames of the spirit. Monsters arise from men.”⁶⁶ This accords well with our science. When the fire is undetermined the flame flickers, dying down and flashing up, and there is a state of man’s spirit which is like this. As the proverb says,—“Men wish to see the thing they fear.” They cannot forget it and led by their fancies, as the flame flashes up and dies down, now they see it and then they see it not. At last so giddy is their spirit that they question their own identity and then, into that opening the spirits thrust themselves and show their forms in visions and monsters and things of evil. These come by the flames of the spirit, and cease by the “feeling” of the good spirits.

In the tales of Tō-Sō⁶⁷ it is said that at Lake Do-tei is a temple to the water god, where travellers pray before they embark. A merchant of firm faith, and mindful of his prayers as he crossed year by year, was drowned at last in a storm. Thereupon his son in grief and anger came determined to burn, on the morrow, the temple which had failed to aid in spite of prayers and gifts. But in his dreams the god appeared in fright and said:—“Forgive me and to-morrow you shall hear Divine music on the lake. I fear neither the

⁶⁶ Dr. Legge translates,—“When men are full of fear their breath as it were blazes up and brings such things. . . . If men give not cause for them they do not arise of themselves.” *Chinese Classics* Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 92. I do not understand “ki” here to mean “the breath” but the “spirit.” The spirits (ki) around us are confused and undertermined and powerless against a determined mind but when man’s spirit (ki) is undetermined and flickers like a flame then he is deceived by the evil “ki” and monsters appear.

⁶⁷ A collection of common stories of the dynasties Tō and Sō.

burning of the temple nor your wrath, but seek forgiveness since I cannot ward off the fixed determination of your mind."

This trifling story teaches that the gods fear a determined mind. Had the man been undertermined whether he should burn or not, now resolute and now irresolute, he had been cursed.

In the castle of Sumpu⁶⁸ was a fox called Uba. It would put a towel on its head and dance, no form being seen, only the towel waving in the air. As the towel was taken from the hand by the fox a rubbing was felt across the palm. And the young men would seek to hold the towel fast but could not. Ōkubo Hikozaemon,⁶⁹ however, held out the towel and the fox could not take it; for he had resolved when he felt the touch to cut with his sword both fox and hand. The fox knew his purpose and was powerless. When the heart of the samurai is determined there is no entrance and the fox can work no ill. Still more is this the case with Sages and superior men. For evil melts before the righteous spirits like ice before the sun. Those who practice evil arts against such men find their curses returned upon themselves. But good men are few and evil spirits abound.

And, further, men worship at profane temples and believe in Buddhism. As a shadow goes with a body so if there is strong belief even where there is naught we shall construct a being. Wonders are seen and folks are more and more deceived and the truth is lost. Trifles are thought to be of the gods and the Buddhas and are foolishly called their answers. The priests invent lies, deceive the people, assembling them together until the offerings of pennies are like mountains. These cheats are the thieves of the nation, a great evil to the empire.

⁶⁸ The Tokugawa castle at Suruga.

⁶⁹ A famous retainer of Ieyasu, Hidetada and Iemitsu.

THE GOBLIN OF HIDAYAMA.

After a pause the Old Man continued:—This “feeling and response” of the gods is the thoroughfare of the spirit. If there is the least “touch” of the spirit, though it show not in voice or face the gods know it at once. But when in perfect quiet there is no mixture of the spirit the gods can find no place to enter in. This is the true nature (*honbun*), what I call the “self.” The verse of *Sha-rei-un*⁷⁰ happens to set off my thought although he did not know the profound meaning of the “self:”—

“The perfect man exalts himself.”

The Book of Changes says: “Heaven opposes not, still less does man or god.”⁷¹ This of course is true of man, and also of Heaven and the gods. So the Sage kings with this “self” were above the empire,—“The empire is only I, who can break my resolution?” The later philosophers put “self” apart from ten thousand, and in the midst of the multitude knew only “self.”

Where then is this “self”? It is before all thought, the reality of the unmoved. Superior men cherish it, Heaven and Earth are given rank by it and by it all things are reared. From it “feeling” goes to God and there is nothing apart from it. As *Shokosetsu* says, “If there is not a thought even the gods cannot know; if not by self then not by anyone.”⁷² Here is a vulgar illustration which I heard in Kaga.

A sawyer was making boards in the woods of Hidayama when he saw a hermit with a long nose, and took him for a goblin. Thereon the hermit said: “Why do you take me for a goblin and hate me and wish me away?” The sawyer in extremity picked up his things to depart

⁷⁰ 謝靈運 A scholar of the Min dynasty.

⁷¹ The Book of Changes, Appendix, IV. Sec. I. Chap. VI: 34.

⁷² 昭康節 A famous poet and philosopher of the Sō dynasty.

when a board slipped by chance and hit the goblin on the nose. "You dreadful man," it cried, "I cannot understand your thoughts," and ran away. It could not endure the unpurposed hit. So it is that, "if there is no thought even the gods cannot know."

But ordinary minds are ever moved by the undetermined thoughts and fancies with which they are filled. So they are led by spirits, enchained by things and the "self" cannot assert itself. We must nourish the source of "self" if we would not lose it and first of all by getting rid of lust. Without lust, in repose, and without plans or thought, from this empty quietness alone, in accord with right reason does movement come, determined before all and thus after all is no fall. This it is to command the gods and not be commanded by them. Without voice or odour it is the foundation of the empire, a formless body. Without thought or act it is the source of all.⁷³

* * * * *

Unknown of men the origin of a thought in darkness and solitude is like the coming of spring while winter still is here. Just as the thought begins to come there is the distinction of right and wrong, as this year and next divides while winter remains. A thousand miles of error come from an inch. In the trifle is the separation of right and wrong, their division and their boundary gate. "Ceaselessly we must guard this gate" asking our hearts whether right or wrong is in our choice. Thus to forsake all evil and follow good is the beginning of the practice of our philosophy. Careless here, knowing good and evil only as shown in face and act, is to be too late. Struggle as we may we shall not attain.

⁷³ Thought and act are of the ki, the true self is of the ri, see "Ki, Ri and Ten" below.

ALL "WAYS" ENTER BY DEEDS.

Many who had been absent for a time came again and excused themselves saying: We have been busy and so have been negligent. But the Old Man replied:

It is the fashion for scholars to say that occupation with the affairs of the world has made them negligent. I too have made that mistake. But the true difficulty is a want of resolution while we, unmindful of that, lay the blame on our occupation. This doubtless may interfere with our study of the books but "learning" is the practice of the "Way" of the Sages. True, we must know the "laws" if we are to act aright and these are learned not merely from books, though the study of the classics is to be put first. Read, learn the "laws" and then search them out in conduct and affairs; this is true knowledge, the knowledge that is the beginning of right conduct. The "Way" of the Sages is not apart from the things of every day. Loyalty, obedience, friendship, all the relations are in this "learning," and not a movement, not even our resting, is without its duty.

Öyōmei's followers reproach the "science" of Shushi and say: Doubtless it is admirable, but how shall busy men find time to learn its universal laws? Thus they misunderstand Shushi to teach that first at our leisure we determine "laws" and only afterwards begin to practise them. Not so! We learn loyalty and obedience as we are loyal and obedient. To-day I know yesterday's shortcomings and to-morrow shall I know to-day's. This is the knowledge of the scientific philosophy. In our occupations we learn whether conduct conforms to right, and so advance in the truth by practice.

Big and little describe things and not principles, so everywhere and always may we learn philosophy, nor should we despise anything. For principles are decided by the

things of Heaven and Earth. But all in proper order, not neglecting the important things of every day that the laws of trees or blades of grass may be determined. In the "Way" of Heaven and Earth there is nothing which comes not from deeds. And where there is anything there is the rule. Just as with the six accomplishments we learn by practice and yet not without rules, so is it with the "Way." Though I have an intuition, if I know not the rule of its application I am like an unpolished jewel or unsmelted ore.

An old samurai thus taught his pupils. Be not samurai through the wearing of two swords, but day and night have a care to bring no reproach on the name. When you cross your threshold and pass out through the gate go as men who shall never return again. Thus shall you be ready for every adventure you may meet. All men of deep earnestness think thus. The Buddhist is forever to remember the five commandments and the samurai the laws of chivalry. But these are easy, being of limited application. But philosophy is of all things, and in all the scholar finds his duty. And especially three things must never be forgotten, the blessings of parent, lord and Sage. Parents bestow and cherish the body, not a hair even is apart from them and their love. The daimyō gives us all we have, and maintains us, not a chopstick save from him. And the Sage instructs us and saves us from the state of the brutes. Remembering these blessings the original nature is not lost, Heaven's reason is not destroyed and all the virtues are brought together. This is the mystery of our philosophy. Impress it even on your bodies.

But now-a-days young men seek only pleasure. Careless of their duty to parent and lord they fall into selfishness. And their elders and scholars know not the blessing of the Sages but are proud and desirous of fame, without a drop of truth. Did they know this mystery they would curb their proud spirits and become helpers in the "way" of virtue. But now, teachers and pupils laugh at the

truth of Shushi till head and stomach ache. Were they to hear my threefold mystery their stomachs would pain them to the point of throwing up. But all who truly know understand that it is not an empty and senile word.

BOOK II.—RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE STUDY OF MARTIAL FORTUNE.

Returning from exercise some young men stopped one day, and the Old Man said to them: As your profession is that of arms constant drill is necessary; but good fortune is more important than skill since without it skill avails not. Mori Musashi no Kami was called the Demon of Musashi, so skillful and strong was he: but at Nagakute¹ he was killed instantly by a bullet, and what benefit was there in his skill and courage? Skill rests on fortune; so study this most earnestly. Your instructors teach you arms but they know not the study of fortune. Such as I can teach you that!

Then one replied: I do not understand this study of martial fortune. Surely it is beyond man's control. Could it be acquired by study all the world would learn! The Old Man shook his head: Yes, there is such study. Tell us of it then, the students said; and the Old Man went on:

Consider, all of you! Whence is fortune? From Heaven! Even the world says, "Fortune is in Heaven." So then there is no resource save prayer to Heaven. Let us then ask: What does Heaven hate and what does Heaven love? It loves benevolence and hates malevolence.

It loves truth and hates untruth. Its heart is this, that it forms all things and unceasingly begets men. Even when in autumn and winter it seems the spirit of death it is not so, but the root, the spirit of birth is gaining strength. So does the Book of Changes declare: "Birth is called change,"² and again: "The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called birth."³ That which in Heaven begets all things in man is called love. So doubt not that Heaven loves benevolence and hates its opposite.

So too with truth. For countless ages sun and moon and stars constantly revolve and we make calendars without mistake. Nothing is more certain! It is the very truth of the universe! When man leaves all else and is humane and true he accords with Heaven, it surely cherishes and embraces him. But with mere temporary virtue⁴ comes no such revelation. We must always obey, being ever benevolent and injuring no one, being ever true and deceiving no one. As the days and months pass such truth appeals to Heaven, and Heaven helps so that even in battle we meet no misfortune nor strike against bullet or spear. This is the study of martial fortune. Do not think it an old man's foolish talk.

How sad is the condition of the world! Men seek only profit and hate their fellows! With their wisdom they make a lying appearance and think it a skilful device for passing through the world. At last they are cast off by Heaven and how can there be any good for them? I have noticed prayers for good luck brought year by year from famous temples and hills decorating the entrances to the

¹ In the war between Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, Rein p. 280.

² The Yi King, Appendix III, Sec. I. Chap. V, 29.

³ The Yi King, Appendix III, Sec. II, Chap. I, 10.

⁴ Mencius, Book II, Pt. I, Chap. II, 15.

abodes of famous samurai. But none the less have they been killed or punished, or their line has been destroyed and house extinguished. Or at the least, to many shame and disgrace have come. They have not learned "fortune" but foolishly depend on prayers and charms. Confucius said: "When punished by Heaven there is no place for prayer."⁵ Women of course follow the temples and trust in charms but not so should men. Alas! Now all are astray, those who should be teachers, the samurai and those higher still! Whose fault is it then that this evil way wins the multitude? Okina weeps as he repeats the verse of Moshi,—“Watching the crow—on whose roof will it alight?”⁶

THE REWARDS OF VIRTUE AND VICE.

After a little some one said: I am much impressed with this new study of martial fortune, nor shall I forget it. But still I have my doubts. Do not men of humanity and truth meet with misfortune, while selfish, false men are happy? Gankai the saint died young and poor; Tōseki⁷ the infamous robber was long-lived and rich. Do explain such facts.

⁵ Analects, III; 13.

⁶ Book of Poetry, Part II, Book IV, Ode VIII; 3 "A lamentation over the miseries of the kingdom." These lines are "illustrative of the uncertainty of the writer's position in the future." Legge.

⁷ Of Gan-kai Confucius said, "Unfortunately his appointed time was short," Analects, (VI: II); and, when he died,—“Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!” (XI: VIII) and again,—“If I am not to mourn bitterly for this man for whom should I mourn?” (XI: IX,) Legge's translation. Tōseki had nine thousand followers and was eating a man's liver when visited by Confucius. The latter remonstrated with the robber, but was worsted in the encounter, at least according to "The Divine Classic of Nan-Hua" by Chuang Tse, translated by Balfour, section "Che the Robber."

The Old Man replied :—The good are happy and the wicked miserable. This is the certainly determined and just law. But happiness and misery are not thus fore-ordained. They depend on circumstances. The Sages speak of the true law and not of the undetermined circumstances. If we would live long we abstain from drink and lust that the body may be strong. If in service we seek promotion we are diligent in duty. But some men who are careful of their health die young and some careless men live long. Yet surely, care is not in vain! So too some diligent men through misfortune gain no promotion and negligent men by chance have been advanced. Yet surely, diligence is not in vain! Were we to think care of the body useless we should spend days and nights in drinking and lust until at last we should be diseased and die. And were we to think diligence in vain we so frequently should neglect our duty that punishment and degradation would be ours. Care of the body is the "way" of long life, as is diligence of promotion. These laws are unchangeable. Again consider! When we make plans, do we leave all to chance or determine first the principles of our action? Of course the latter, and then we do not repent even though we are unfortunate. We cannot arrange for chance. But to leave all to chance and fail, that leads to repentance. Sin is the source of pain and righteousness of happiness. This is the settled law. The teaching of the Sages and the conduct of superior men is determined by principles and the result is left to Heaven. Still, we do not obey in the hope of happiness, nor do we forbear to sin from fear. Not with this meaning did Confucius and Mencius teach that happiness is in virtue and pain in sin. But the "Way" is the law of man. It is said: "The 'Way' of Heaven blesses virtue and curses sin." That is intended for the ignorant multitude. Yet it is not like the Buddhist hōben, for it is the determined truth.

THE VICTORY OF HEAVEN AND MAN.

Again he said ;—When men are many they win from Heaven, but when Heaven decrees it wins. It is a famous saying : Heaven always wins, evil cannot contend with right. Men, when many and strong, may succeed for a time, yet only for a time while Heaven is undecided ; afterwards it wins. Heaven is forever and is not to be understood at once, like the promises of men. Short-sighted men consider its ways and decide that there is no reward for vice or virtue. So they doubt when the good are virtuous and fear not when the wicked sin. They do not know that there is no victory against Heaven when it decrees.

Gankai died young. Tōseki lived long, for Heaven's decree was not yet formed. But now as we study the decree : Gankai indeed lived poverty-stricken and in obscurity, but his name lasts thousands of years with the sun and moon. Tōseki had a thousand followers and walked in pride but when he died his name perished before his body was cold ; while his shame lasts an hundred generations, the memorial of many evil deeds. Was then Gankai's reward from Heaven small, and Tōseki's great ?

And seldom is the award so late ; generally it is at once. Sometimes it is delayed awhile and yet is received in person. Nowadays in Japan are many evil officials ; some are punished soon, some after a delay ; some are detected at once, some only by and by and some not until after death. For the collection and disbursement of taxes in town and province goes on unceasingly and a deficit is not perceived. So the wicked man is wise in his own interest and, by many devices, appropriates the property of the government to his own use that he may live in luxury and ease. While still undiscovered he congratulates himself upon his cleverness. And when others are detected he puts it to their want of skill, and grows in pride instead of being warned. But surely his evil wisdom makes some mistake. He overlooks something

which reveals his wickedness, and cleverness and devices avail not when he is examined and every item studied. For a time he was free, but soon or late there is no escape.

Since thus something may be taken from the great stores of the government and the loss be not perceived at once, still more from Heaven whose treasures, lands and seas and men by millions, are very great. Evil and good mingle in vast numbers and awards cannot be made at once. It is not wonderful that bad men tread the dangerous evil way in search of gain. But Heaven too has its time for settling its accounts. Then the most clever accountant cannot rival the exactness of its perception; and its awards, mild and bitter, heavy and light are without the least mistake. In China and Japan many strong men have prided themselves on courage, wisdom and plots, and, Heaven being still undetermined, have thought it could be moved by man's power. For a while as they strive with great and evil powers they seem to gain their ends, but Heaven soon decrees and body and house are lost. Many such instances there are, of old and now. To think that man may win from Heaven is the source of evil. For bad men see temporary gain and rejoice with shallow wisdom. But true men see and greatly fear the evil that is invisible. As the Book of Poetry says,—“Fear the will of Heaven. Obey according to the times.” Truly ever fear and cherish it.

THE FLERTING, DREAM-LIKE WORLD.

One of the students who had been a Buddhist but now studied philosophy with the Old Man, said one day to another student;—The Old Man teaches me the exalted truth of Confucius, but Buddhism too has truth not to be cast aside. Scholars are entangled by the world and deceived by reality and seek fame and gain. So they die without seeing the truth. Buddhism knows the world's a dream, a vision,

and though it is heresy still it leads many to the truth as it teaches the true nature of the Buddha. Good and evil are twisted together like the strands of a rope. Joy and sorrow stand ever at the gate waiting to enter. The fleeting world is like a dream; how shall we find satisfaction in it? To see that it is a dream is to find the beginning of the "Way."

The Old Man replied;—There is reason in what you say, and therefore many famous samurai have forsaken philosophy for Buddhism. They are like the guest who ate too much at a feast and went home in agony, holding his big belly with his hands. He met an empty bellied beggar seeking food and cried out: Oh! If I were only like that man! Then I should not suffer so. Such are the scholars who, surfeited with the world and offended with philosophy, turn to the teaching of the priests. They know not that the land of rest is in our teaching.

From the beginning of Heaven and Earth the "Way" of the three relations and five laws has not changed. It is Heaven's truth. It is not a dream. It is not a "borrowed world." But men want rank and gain. They seek them day and night until death and pursue them west and east. Success and ruin quickly come and quickly go, all alike unexpected. Such unrighteous success Confucius called, "Clouds that form and disappear."⁸ But in the Buddhist doctrine of "three worlds" all seems a dream. There is no distinction of truth and falsehood; and the "Way" of the three relations and five laws is destroyed and thrown away as rubbish. As if we should destroy eye and ear! We see and hear by them and, forsooth, in sight and sound are errors! Shall we then make ourselves deaf and blind and be content, hearing and seeing naught? The heart is from Heaven, is endowed with all reason and responds to all things. Thus is the "empty spirit"⁹ exalted, Now if we

⁸ Analects, Book VII; XV.

⁹ See p. 21 preceding.

deny both reason and things, the three relations and the five laws, and our own heart, what shall be the true heart? These heretics even must make our wonderful consciousness to be the true nature of Buddha.

The heart is like light. Fire is called light because it shines on things. The phosphorescence of sea and hill is like fire: yet lights nothing but dances in solitude, in waste places far from men. Shall we exalt it and call it a light Divine? Buddhism, separated from the "Way" of the five relations and the five virtues, moves men uselessly, without real connection with reason or affairs. Vainly it talks of Divine knowledge. In Japan before the Empress Suikō, and in China before the Emperor Mei¹⁰ were no such men or hearts. It is all useless but for a thousand years here and in China high and low have felt its influence. Lords and retainers, parents and children have been deserted by men who have become priests. And others look on with longing and say,—“They have accepted the true religion.” It is most contemptible, no matter what may be the purpose. Surely it is shameful! And the Old Man was silent for a while.

Reason comes from Heaven, he continued, and is in men. If we know it not in ourselves we know it not at all. This kind knowledge exceeds all former experience as we love our friend an hundredfold as we discover that he is bound to us by the ties of nature, is our lost father or brother. An abstainer knows that sake is sweet, but not as if he tasted it. And the sake drinker knows not the taste of mochi. The true philosopher knows the truth as the drinker knows the taste of sake and the abstainer the taste of sweets. How shall he forget it? How shall he fall into

¹⁰ In Suikō's reign, A.D. 593-628, Buddhism was openly adopted by the court in Japan. In the reign of Mei, (Ming Ti) A.D. 58-76 it received the imperial sanction in China.

error? Lying down, getting up, moving, resting, all is well. In peace, in trouble, in life, in death, in joy, in sorrow, all is well. Never for a moment will he leave this "Way." This is to know it in ourselves. But I have not yet attained to this, nor do I truly know the "Way."¹¹

THE MORNING GLORY'S HOUR.

Matsunaga thus sings of the Morning-glory:—"The Morning-glory of an hour, Differs not in heart from the pine of a thousand years."¹² What profundity! Many have sung of the morning-glory, of its short life, of autumn loneliness and the vanity of the world. So Hakkuyō:—"After a thousand years the pine decays; The flower has its glory in blooming for a day." That is pretty but it merely makes bloom and decay one. The ignorant think it profound but it is very superficial, like Buddhism and Taoism. Matsunaga's verse has other meaning, has it not? I think it means. "He who in the morning hears the 'Way' may die content at night."¹⁴ To blossom early, wait for the rising sun and die, such is the morning-glory's nature received from Heaven. It does not forget its own nature and envy the pine its thousand years. So every morning splendidly it blooms, waits for the rising sun and dies. Thus it fulfils its destiny. How can we despise this truth the flower reveals? The pine differs not, but we

¹¹ Man's true nature is "law," the eternal "reason" within him. And as "law" is the ideal benevolence and righteousness these too are man's nature. It is therefore "good." But only when this truth is comprehended and obeyed does man "attain." Kyūsō had not yet attained; he could say naught else for so does Confucius speak of himself. *Analects* VII; XXXII, XXXIII.

¹² Matsunaga. an unknown author.

¹³ Hakkuyō. A famous poet of the Tō (Tang) dynasty.

¹⁴ *Analects* IV, VIII.

learn the lesson best from the short-lived flower. The pine's heart is not of a thousand years nor the morning-glory's of an hour, but only that they may fulfil their destiny.

The glory of the thousand years, the evanescence of the single hour are not in pine or flower but in our thought. So is it with unfeeling things, but man has feeling and is the head of all. Yet is he deceived by things and does not attain to this unless he knows the "Way." To know the "Way" is not the mystic contemplation of which Buddhism speaks. The "Way" is so adjusted to all things that even miserable men and women may know and do it. And only as we truly know it can we truly do it. Otherwise even with practice we do not know, and even in doing it we find no profit. Though we are in the "Way" until death we do not understand. Truly to know and act is to be like fish in water and bird in forest.

Reason should be our life. Never should we separate from it. While we live we obey, and "Way" and body together come to death. Long shall we be at peace. To live a day is to obey a day, and then to die: to live a year is to obey a year and then to die. If thus in the morning we hear and die at night there is no regret. So the morning-glory lives a day, blooms wholly as it had received, and without resentment dies. How greatly differ the thousand years of the pine in length, yet both fulfil their destiny and both are equally content. Thus, "The morning-glory of an hour, Differs not in heart from the pine of a thousand years." As Matsunaga shows his aspirations in his verse so I in imitation; "By the truth received from Heaven and Earth, The morning-glory blooms and fades."

"Regret not what you see: Decay and bloom alike are morning-glory's truth."

"Hurting not, lusting not, This is the morning-glory's heart, Not different from the pine's."

The verses are wretched as you see. But never mind their form, take their truth.

THE EYELASH MYSTERY.

Said the students ;—When we read we see only the surface and do not know how to apply the lesson to the world, but you find profound reason in everything. We do not understand that which is close at hand, it is as secret as the eyelashes.

And the Old Man replied ;—Confucius said of the common words of Shun, "They show his wisdom": the Sage does not neglect the speech of the vulgar. "A boy thus sang :—When the river is clear I wash the strings of my cap ; when it is muddy I wash my feet." And its meaning is, the Sage is not stopped but moves with the current of the world. Confucius commented thus,—“Because the water is clear he washes the strings of his cap, because it is muddy he washes his feet ; so the washing is not of man’s goodness or evil but the water by its clearness or muddiness brings it on itself. Consider !”¹⁵ So are praise and shame, misery and blessedness all of self and not of others. Blame not men but heed thyself ! Hear not unthinkingly even a common verse.

When young I met an old philosopher in Kyōto who told me stories of the past, and among them this of Ieyasu. He once said to his followers ;—“Would you avoid misfortune ? Here is advice for you in five syllables or in seven. Which will you have ?” “Give us both,” they said ; and he went on :—“In five,—Do not look above, (ue wo mi na) ; and in seven,—Know thy own capacity (mi no hodo wo shire). Forget them not.”

But men look above and know not themselves. Extravagant, proud, fond of adornment, they crumble their property and invite misfortune. A great daimyō had a karō whose income was ten thousand koku and on a certain day he went to the castle wearing a cotton robe dyed red. Get-

¹⁵ Mencius, Book IV. Pt. I, Chap. VIII; 2-3.

ting wet *en route* he hung his robe in the sun to dry. The daimyō returning from the chase saw the robe and said, "Red fades in the sun, take it inside." But in the house of another great noble was an officer who gave ten gold ryō for the ornaments of his armour and remarked : " Weapons of war are most precious and from this expenditure my son and grandson will know my meaning." A third daimyō was thought especially wise. The son of his karō was fond of medicine cases and wore one, three coral beads ornamenting the string. His lord remarked to him :—"I see you are fond of medicine cases ; here is one that preserves the strength of the medicine for ever. Wear it," and gave him one whose beads were nuts. So all the officials renounced extravagance.

All this was sixty or seventy years ago but now everywhere is extravagance. We may well spend money on our weapons but luxury must be reprov'd. In the Ōsaka war great nobles and knights had only the simplest weapons and armour, while their houses and possessions were ruder still. Extravagance unrepressed destroys the empire. Its origin is selfishness, looking above and not knowing self. This is what Ieyasu meant. This disease, extravagance, is not merely individual and personal. It affects high and low. It leads generals to overestimate their own powers and despise their adversaries. So they lose the empire and themselves, like Nobunaga and many another in China and Japan. But Ieyasu did not become extravagant. He knew himself. Success did not make him proud, and so at last he ruled the empire. His syllables five and seven have profound meaning everywhere.

BENEVOLENCE THE LIFE OF THE SOUL.

One day, after study was ended, the talk was of benevolence and righteousness, and one of the company remarked : The heart of Heaven and Earth becomes man's heart.

Heaven's heart is to produce all things, and as this becomes the heart of man, love to his fellows will be the virtue of his heart. So is it that benevolence, the principle of love, is the virtue of the heart. And with this virtue are all the others, for they are included in it and come from it. This have I learned from you. Benevolence means the heart which loves mankind and is chief of the virtues. Many teachers give the chief place to compassion, and if enough meaning is read into it we may agree; but this teaching that benevolence is the virtue of the heart is not that ordinary shallow commonplace. Why is it that righteousness, propriety and truth are destroyed when there is no benevolence, even though compassion be made the virtue of the heart? Talk to us awhile of this. And the Old Man replied :

I agree with you and have nothing new to say, but still I will speak a little in detail. Benevolence in the heart is like the vital spirits in the body, and as these are shown in the pulse so is benevolence shown in love. When the pulse ceases to beat man dies, and when the law of love is lost the heart is destroyed. Thus is benevolence the life of the heart. It lives with benevolence and pity. Naturally when we see our parents we love them, and naturally we reverence superiors; naturally we are humble in the presence of old age; naturally we respond to the story of righteousness and are ashamed as we hear of evil. But if there is no sympathy or pity the heart is hard like demon, or beast, or wood, or stone, and we have no feeling. How then shall we love or reverence, respond to righteousness or be ashamed at wrong?¹⁶

¹⁶ Our word benevolence by no means precisely represents the Chinese word "jin." Faber translates "humanity" and gives an excellent description of the virtue, "Doctrines of Confucius," pp. 71-75. But though "jin" is the characteristic virtue of man, and

Thus are benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom all of the virtue of the heart. They are separate laws and yet all of this one origin, benevolence. Without it men may have indeed a virtuous appearance and activity, but they come not from the heart and are not true virtue or true law. For benevolence is the essence of virtue and the law of love.

Bravery even comes from benevolence and is of the pitying heart. War seems a violent "way," taking and killing, and compared with benevolence like black compared with white. Yet only when benevolence is its foundation is the warrior's bravery true courage. Only as chivalry, and letters too, and all spring from the heart and combine with benevolence are they true. With such a heart, even if we purpose not to aid our neighbors, still aid them we must and shall.

RIGHTEOUSNESS THE EDGE OF THE HEART.

Another of those present spoke:—We now fully understand that benevolence is the virtue of the heart, the law of love, and that in its perfection all virtues are included. But righteousness is singled out and put with it. Explain, please, this righteousness. So the Old Man replied:

his nature, yet as characteristic too of the heart of Heaven and Earth, humanity is a term at once too narrow and too broad. As St. Paul, in 1st Cor. XIII., sums up all the Christian virtues in the word love, so does "jin" comprise all the Confucian excellences. It is certainly noticeable that the words should so resemble each other, and when benevolence and righteousness are set forth as the very essence of Heaven and Earth we readily exaggerate the likeness of doctrine. But thought his Chinese philosophy has no place for a personal God, yet these virtues are reflected in the operations of impersonal nature, its fertility and its regularity.

As are the In and Yō in Heaven, so are benevolence and righteousness in man. This is the teaching of the Book of Changes:—"The 'Way' of Heaven is In and Yō; the 'Way' of man is benevolence and righteousness."¹⁷ And in the first figure of the Book of Changes the four seasons are all included in spring.¹⁸ Though the spirit of autumn seems to destroy and kill, yet really it strengthens the power that shall bring forth the verdure of the spring. So is it with man's "Way." The four virtues are all in benevolence but not indiscriminately, for without the rule of righteousness the living "Way" of the heart is hurt and benevolence is destroyed.

As I once said to a beginner: Righteousness is the "edge" of the heart. Shushi called it the "ruler" of the heart. Usually, with action, coming and going, taking and giving, the heart is filled up and cannot be just. Such a heart, stuck fast, even when learned, cannot be wise. It is without repentance and makes no rapid advance in virtue. So our action depends upon the "edge" of the heart. Thus did Confucius speak of the superior man: "Righteousness is his nature."¹⁹ And he thus explains a passage in the Book of Changes: "He purifies his heart with reverence and his conduct with righteousness."²⁰ And again, he separates the man of true distinction from the man of mere notoriety thus: "His nature is honest and he loves righteousness."²¹

¹⁷ Book of Changes, Appendix V, Chap. II; 4.

¹⁸ Book of Changes, Appendix I; 1.

¹⁹ Analects XV; 17.

²⁰ Book of Changes, Appendix IV, Sec. II, Chap. II; 6.

²¹ Analects XII; 20.

Our lusts hurt the heart and are the enemies of benevolence and righteousness. Even those who are benevolent and know pity, whose nature is tender, become hard and lose their communion with Heaven when they are led by evil wisdom and by external things. Lusts daily increase like the insects which devour trees, and when the vital spirit dies the great tree is dead. As the edge of the heart is dulled, alas! righteousness disappears. Rust makes valueless the best cutting sword as the edge is dulled. So is it that the Confucian philosophy magnifies benevolence and teaches that self-conquest is essential to its attainment.

When Gankai asked Confucius about benevolence, the Sage replied: "Conquer self and return to propriety."²² Propriety is the adornment of Heaven and Earth, man's rule for self-examination and instrument for victory over self. Gankai sought the method of self-government. Men who know not this cannot conquer self, though they strive strenuously. So it is that the Great Learning put knowledge of the truth before the reformation of the heart.²³ Though we know that the "Way" is benevolence and righteousness, yet we cannot attain perfection if we neglect propriety and knowledge. Thus does the Book of Changes speak of the virtue of the sage: "Knowledge is high, propriety is low; the height of the knowledge is Heaven, the lowliness of the propriety is Earth."²⁴ As the high increases so does the low improve. This is the "Way," complete doing at first and complete doing at last. This has been philosophy's great law from Confucius until now.

²² Analects XII; 1.

²³ The Great Learning, 4-5.

²⁴ Appendix III: Sec. I: Chap. VII. 36.

THE BROAD SPIRIT.

When studying penmanship I read the sentence of Imagawa, "If one of the four virtues is lost, the 'Way' cannot be fulfilled." Imagawa was not a great philosopher, but this saying is truly great. I well remember it yet. All four are important, yet is righteousness next to benevolence, as we may learn from Mencius' teaching of the Broad Spirit, "Very great, very strong, filling Heaven and Earth!"²⁵ Consider how so great a thing can come from righteousness. Endowed with the living spirit of Heaven and Earth man is naturally a broad being, but lusts dull the "edge" of the heart and the spirit grows small. So the broad spirit is from the "edge" of the heart. Without it, as the proverb says, "with one bound of an ox," we are wholly given up to self. Nor are we to be righteous all at once. Mencius says: "It is by the accumulation of righteousness."²⁶ The broad spirit does not give forth its power at once, with one thing or at one time, but day by day using the "edge" of the heart in accord with reason in all things great and small, important and unimportant, without any doubt, as with a sword you cut in two, deciding thus it fits well, this is the "Way," so is the broad spirit produced. Thus ceaselessly, this spirit continuing, ever it grows strong and at last the spirit so aids the "edge" of the heart that it unites with righteousness and the spirit is naturally very broad.

So when in cold weather two men at daybreak are about to rise, the sake drinker does not hesitate while the abstainer shivers with the cold. For the spirit of the liquor aids his "edge" of the heart. But the broad spirit comes from righteousness and yet helps the righteousness, a thing most wonderful!

²⁵ Mencius, Book II, Pt. I, Chap. II; 11-16.

Last year I read in the *Kam-bun-sho*²⁶ of a dragon. The dragon is a thing most wonderful and Divine; and this one made a cloud with its breath and then rode thereon up to the moon and down to the depths. The dragon formed the cloud which aided it in its flight! But not unreasonably are we to use the spirit strength to make the weak strong, or we shall be like the men of So who pulled up the rice that they might help it to grow long!²⁵ That is to injure the "Way" and prevent the accumulation of righteousness. It should be accumulated without definite purpose, yet constantly as day or night a man forgets not his important business. Neither forgotten nor unreasonably accumulated, this is this "edge" of the heart. As the philosophers have said, "Hold with reverence." Not too careful, or greater harm comes than from forgetting to have a care. "Like holding an egg in the hand," not forgetting or down it goes; not too tight or it is crushed.

Not too careless and not too careful. The heart is wonderful and Divine. Empty and idle it cannot be. It must have intercourse with men and act, or in its idleness useless things come forth; it considers things without root or dependence and is confused like hemp. Long ago in Kaga a samurai asked me of this control of the heart and I said to him:—"The heart is like a horse of spirit and "reverence" is that which rides it. If the spirit is weak so are seat and hands, away the horse runs and we are thrown. This is the "forgetting." If we hold too strongly the mouth hurts and the horse cannot go. This is to "nourish unreasonably." Not only is he unable to go: his evil spirit is aroused, he balks and rears and is no benefit but an injury. Not too loose nor too tight, but carefully in the mean, then fast and slow he comes and goes freely obedient to my desire.

²⁶ The writings of Kantaishi, p. 31 above, note.

So wrote I forty years since. Those to whom I wrote are now of the long ago.

Deeply moved was the old man as he spake these words.

THE PEOPLE, THE HEAVEN OF THE KING.

Once at the end of his exposition of the tenth book of the Analects, "He bowed to those who bore the tables of the census," the Old Man asked his guests: What is the meaning of the phrase, "The people are the Heaven of the king and food is the Heaven of the People"?

The people, replied one, are the foundation of the State; when they are obedient the State remains, but when they rebel it is destroyed. As its preservation and destruction are of the people the king must honour them as Heaven. And the people honour their food as Heaven, for it is their life and without it they die.

You have explained correctly the meanings, continued the Old Man, as both honouring agriculture. When Heaven begets men it brings forth grain for their food. If there are men there is grain and if there is grain there are men; if there is no grain there are no men. Nothing excels food. The farmers produce it and are entrusted by Heaven to the king who must honour them as he honours Heaven itself. Not one farmer may be abused. For this reason the census was received of old with honour by the king, and Confucius bowed when he met those who bore it. The people are to remember that they are entrusted with the production of this precious gift of Heaven and are to honour it as Heaven itself. They must not be idle, for their industry determines the land's prosperity.

In the days of the Sage kings all this was heeded. Taxes were light and when the crops failed there was such aid that the people were not scattered abroad. They lived at home without anxiety and gave their produce to the king

and no one failed to make "food to be as Heaven." Gradually their manners became the fashion with the officials and the city folk, and all were frugal and none lazy or luxurious. But later, in the time of the Shin dynasty,²⁷ the heart which made the people to be Heaven grew less, and cruel taxes were imposed until at last there was separation and rebellion. All was confusion and disintegration and the mob originated. Again from the time of the Kan dynasty,²⁷ though there was peace and safety, yet many were intent on gain and the great merchants lived like princes and in imitation the country folk too fell into extravagance and competed in costly amusements. Kagi²⁸ complained to the government, and as something of the heart that makes "the people Heaven" still remained, the Emperor repeatedly proclaimed that agriculture is the foundation of the empire, remitted the taxes and reproved the local officials. He exhorted to filial obedience, brotherly respect and industry. So in the time of Bun-Kei²⁹ lord and servant were frugal and the land grew rich. It was the best period after the times of the Sage kings.³⁰ So our study shows that when the fashions of the country extend to the capital it is well, and when the capital influenced the country it is ill, for in the country is simplicity and in the capital extravagance.

²⁷ The Shin (Ts'in) dynasty reigned B.C. 255-209 and was followed by the Kan (Han) dynasty.

²⁸ A celebrated scholar of the "Han dynasty" who introduced various reforms. Mayers, p. 78.

²⁹ Bun and Kei were emperors of the Han dynasty and reigned in succession, B.C. 179-140.

³⁰ All good was in its perfection in the days of the Sage kings Gyō and Shun. But unfortunately, we know nothing of them or of their times historically. The golden age was already a thousand years in the past when authentic history began in China, the 12th century B. C.

Nowadays, so far as I hear, avaricious officials are many, and in the country too many who are outwardly obedient to the law amass wealth, are pleasure-loving, hide their faults, deceive the Government, injure their fellows and count all this shrewdness. At their feasts they eat only delicacies, gather women for song and dance, and spend immense sums in a day. They think it æsthetic; and when they see a man who is frugal and honest they ridicule him as "rustic" and unaccustomed to the ways of the world. As an individual can do nothing against the multitude, these fashions become universal and even the remote regions are extravagant and false. Alas! all the world praises extravagance and all the world desires money without which these lusts cannot be gratified. So those who are strong seize the wealth of the empire and its circulation is stopped. Gold and silver are scarce. But food grows every year, so it is cheap and money is dear. The *sannurai* who are paid in grain must exchange cheap grain for dear cash and have not enough, while those who have money buy cheap grain with dear coin and increase their goods. But with limited coin their extravagance is unlimited and useful money goes for useless things. Money is less and less in quantity day by day and does not circulate. Rice grows ever cheaper, yet the poor country folk cannot buy it. The rich feast daily but the green-coloured⁸¹ are ever at their side. The bad become robbers to save their lives. From extravagance comes poverty and from poverty theft.

This has not come about in a day. Until sixty or seventy years ago there was prosperity. Some were extravagant but the majority were frugal, for many old men of the former age still lived, men who had endured hardship as soldiers and had known no luxury even in their dreams. But their descendants, trained in their houses, think frugality rustic. The elders were without outer adornments but their

⁸¹ The starving.

inner qualities were great. They loved labour and were loyal and sympathetic. But after their time the samurai with their hereditary pensions knew nothing of hardship in the times of peace. They desire drink and pleasure and know not its poison. Extravagant and vain and profligate, no wonder we are in such condition. Still worse are the money-getters and the givers of great entertainments. And the evil goes into the provinces. There remains even now something of the ancient customs, differing from the great towns. But the people are foolish and profligate, and some commit great crimes. Foolish and angry in their misery, some even rise against the Government. Still they are not cheats like the townfolk. They are naturally honest, simple, easily moved by blessings, quick to follow reason and satisfied with their daily food. When the officials remember the heart which makes the people Heaven, and modify the taxes according to circumstances and so treat the people that they may nourish parents and children without fear of death from cold and hunger, then the people are in peace. When the laws are made known showing the punishments for crime, forbidding extravagance, reproving the idle and dissolute, then the people admire and obey. As they become good their virtue passes to the towns. The townfolk are not the tenth of the countrymen; yet town fashions permeate the provinces. Were the countrymen content and prosperous, still more readily then would their fashions go throughout the empire conquering extravagance and evil. Without doubt extravagance would give way gradually to frugality.

THE SKIRT OF FUJI.

Of old it was said : " When the people are discontented they think of insurrection," so important is their peace to the empire. In the days of Ieyasu a certain samurai who loved philosophy was sent on a tour of inspection. Before starting he asked his teacher for advice and was told, " You will travel around the skirt of Fuji, study the plain on

which it stands. Such a mountain can stand only on so great a plain. Mountains stand secure because they spread wide out their base. With top big and base small, over they would fall. Would you now serve the Government? Care for the people. I have no advice to give but this." This is the meaning of that figure of a mountain standing on the earth in the Book of Changes.²² The mountain rears itself on high but the base clings to the earth. The earth is its source. So are rulers to make the top small and the base great. Then is the empire at peace, like the mountain. But if the top is increased and the base diminished there is danger; it is a mountain upside down.

This is my thought:—In the towns are many evil men who set fire to houses and work mischief. For the greater part they are wanderers from the country who have come aimlessly to town because of the misery in the provinces. Should they return they would find no occupation and no place for their bodies. So their only resource is to rob and steal. Were the provinces unoppressed and the family relationship maintained, men would come to town only in exceptional circumstances. Should they find no work in town they would go home again. Had they friends they would not throw away their lives by committing crimes sure to be punished. Even the outcasts would go to their friends for aid. But now the provinces are in distress and all gather in the towns. And useless extravagance leads the fashion. The nobles, high officials and the rich put crowds of these fellows in livery. They gather in the long houses to drink and game. They drink until drunk, and by their carelessness the house catches fire and burns. The worst of them steal their master's money and fire the house to hide their misdeeds. The carelessness of the master permits such evils, but the real cause is the evil love of luxury. Stop the extravagant customs of the town and the provinces will prosper.

²² Book of Changes. Appendix II., Hex. XXIII.

THE EMPIRE'S TREASURE.

But ever with a century of peace comes extravagance. That it may be replaced by frugality, honest and economical samurai must be given office. Mere laws and the machinery of government will not avail. So it is said: "Teach by example and they follow; by words and they accuse." When the great officers are righteous the mass of officials naturally follow with reverence and fear. When the great officers teach with words the subordinates quarrel and disobey. Though laws be many and increase yet is control difficult. The real and final fault is the unfitness of the officials for their places. Laws are necessary, but their efficiency is according to the men who enforce them. As Confucius said, "Government is by the man. With him it is complete; when he is destroyed it ceases."

The changes of man's heart are not according to a fixed system, but evil and good, falsehood and truth, are confused together. So the plausible excuses of Shokufu, though he seemed to make out his case, were not accepted by Choseki-shi;³³ and the efficient general was not dismissed when he was accused of stealing eggs;³⁴ the seeming frugality of Kosonko in wearing a cotton robe was really evil extravagance, while the seeming extravagance of Kakushige³⁵ in the end was not to be reproved as wrong. We cannot govern a multitude of changing beings by unchanging laws. That is like playing a koto with its bridge made fast, like marking the side of the boat that we may find again the sword lost overboard. Not thus are changing conditions suitably met.

³³ A councillor of Han Wen Ti, B. C. 179.

³⁴ Suin of Wei accused of stealing two eggs when a boy. Retained "since no one is perfect," Chinese Repository, Feb. 1851. p. 103.

³⁵ D. 122 B. C. He had been a swineherd and became a minister. Mayers, p. 90. He used all of his own property for others. Kosonko affected economy that he might increase his popularity.

Find the proper man and entrust the laws to him. Let him assert or modify, advance or retreat, using the laws according to the times, using them as not immovably bound by them. He should skillfully roll them along and not be rolled along by them. When all is entrusted to officials such as these, the Government is not obstructed, the laws are enforced, the people obey and there is continual peace. Jewels are not the treasure of the empire but wise men.

Reverently would I speak my admiration of the great Ieyasu.⁸⁶ Once when an office was vacant he said to his minister (karō): "I shall give the office to so and so. What is his character?" But the karō replied, "I do not know. He does not come to my house." Ieyasu changed colour and replied, "I am to be blamed if unreasonably I ask your opinion of the character of each one of my many men-at-arms and if it is not your duty to know. But so and so has rank and wealth. He is unknown to no one. What duty have you more important than to know the leading men and give me information when I ask it? Should you reply 'I do not know'? Not know? I erred when I entrusted you with an office of such importance. Consider. The faithful samurai does not go familiarly to the house of his superior. You are to seek out the good men among them and know them that they may not be unemployed. That is your duty to me. When fine swords, daggers and articles for the cha-no-yu are spoken of you seek them that they may be shown to me. But the best of them do not serve the State. They are not essential. But I ever say that man is the 'treasure of treasures.' And you are so inattentive that you can answer me like this? If you know only those who call at your house you will corrupt the samurai. They will think they

⁸⁶ Ieyasu is always referred to by his posthumous title, Tō-shō-gū, but I have retained his well known name.

must flatter the men in power. My samurai, modest and virtuous, are the life-power of the state. If their hearts are soiled and they become shameless and spiritless in every thing, putting up with insults that they may save their lives, they will have no heart to fulfil righteousness. So with the loss of their vitality will the vigour of the State fail. Then the State will readily be overturned and destroyed. Fail not to remember what I say."

So did Ieyasu make wise men his treasure, and their righteousness the life-power of the State. Of all our rulers he stands first. I need not dwell longer on his lecture to the karō. In the Book of Rites provision is made for an officer whose duty shall be the choice of man. But in time the good old way failed and men were chosen only for rank, words, literary skill, and such like empty things. So has it been for generations. And in Japan from the beginning of the Kamakura times⁸⁷ lord and karō never thought of advancing men by the test of character. How such men would fear this sharp word of Ieyasu. All fear and follow him, So it is that from his time many men of high character appear who govern well. There is constant progress and all in the empire are at peace. This blessing is all from him. To worship such virtue day and night is not enough.

CUSTOM IS THE FIELD OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Naught else is so essential to the empire as custom. The ruler's authority is like Heaven and his fear is as thunder, who dare disobey? But as the proverb says, "Against the multitude no hand," so against custom is no victory.

⁸⁷ The beginning of the Kamakura times was toward the end of the twelfth century, when it was founded by Yoritomo.

Mandates and laws effect a temporary reformation, but constantly do they yield and fail long to influence those beneath their sway. They permeate but a little way and are lost in the mass.

Custom is like a field and government like seed. Be the seed never so good, if the field is ill prepared it will not grow. Good laws accomplish nothing unless the customs too are good. First prepare the soil and then sow the seed. First reform customs if we desire good government. And the source of customs is the ruler himself. Let him govern himself and thus inspire those who are below. This is the unchanging law. If he govern not himself there is no model for the people.

When good or evil has hardened into custom there can be no immediate change. To go over to the bad is easy, but to become good is difficult. If reform is purposed, tie fast custom that there be no drift into evil. The ruler cannot accomplish it alone, but all the officials, small and great, must perceive his purpose, govern themselves and be examples to the people. Nowadays all know the frugality of the Shōgun, yet the extravagance of the lower orders ceases not. Such worthless men as I ever celebrate the virtues of the Shōgun, still more should all the high officials approve him. Doubtless they are not all slothful and yet cannot at once reform the customs which have long been decayed.

In the period Manji-Kwambun (1658-1672) quails were the fashion, and men of wealth competed for them and they became very costly. Abe Bungo no Kami, Tada-aki, fancied them and kept a cage ever by his side. A daimyō knew his fancy and buying one of highest price sent it to Abe by his physician. So the physician took it and said, "Be so kind as to accept it." But Abe merely replied, "I'll consider it." Then in a moment he called his servant and told him to turn the doors of the cages to the garden and open them. Out flew all the quails, to the surprise of the physician, who said, "Have they been so long with you that they will come

back again?" "No," was the reply; "I have let them go. By the will of the Shōgun I have been promoted and should have no fancies. Unthinkingly I became fond of quails and now men bring them as presents. I'll care for them no more." That answer made the physician ashamed. It is difficult to give up one's fancy and there is no objection to the acceptance of gifts. But Abe forgot not the people of his master. Trifles become the fashion, influence one's own rule and must be carefully guarded. And the other officials of the time were also pure and free from extravagance; nor were they proud of their power. And as their customs influenced those below them, the people too became pure and honest.

So does custom generally pass from rulers to the people, but the opposite is sometimes true. When the source is pure the stream is clear, and when the source is impure so is the stream. But if mud heaps up at the mouth it dams the stream, and the impurity ascends even to the source. So nowadays the sons of wealthy merchants in company with samurai and officials, with rascals and dissolute townfolk, make brothels their home by day and night, and waste their time in play and drink. The custom penetrates higher circles, and even nobles and high officials go secretly to brothels and samurai are eager to be leaders in debauchery. This is the influence of the low upon the high. To amend it only good men should be made high officials and thus will the stream be purified at its source. Then next, the dissolute among the people should be searched out and put under arrest that the mud may be removed from the mouth.

And there are other evils. The common folk are far from the tribunals. They have the right to enter protest against wrongs but, ignorant of the ceremonies and without learned words, they cannot go to the fine office and minutely state their case. The minor officials do not wish to listen, are proud of their authority and ready with severe reproof for the smallest error, even of a word. So people dread

the trouble, even when their cause is clearly just. And with only one court the cases heap up like mountains, as petitions come in from the four quarters. The smallest affair takes days, the neighbors are repeatedly summoned as witnesses, until the whole village is involved and hates the whole affair. The expense is great, and so, for the most part, wrongs are the rather borne in silence. Robbers and sins will never be diminished in this fashion.

The distance of the court and the difficulty of the procedure are the source of the trouble. Small courts should be set up everywhere with good men in authority. They should be connected with the higher courts. The system of grouping five or ten houses together with mutual responsibility should be made more strict. Then bad men may be accused even though they do not actually violate the laws, They can be examined at once and released if their offence is trifling and sent to prison if it is great. All should be written out and sent with the prisoner to the central tribunal there to be judged. So there will still be communication with the Government in everything though it go not to the central tribunal first. As the smaller courts can decide at once there will be no delay. As the guilty cannot be hidden they will fear public opinion. They will not be influenced at once but still will naturally reform. But customs cannot be reformed while the tribunal prefers to be idle, and while it cares only when the laws are broken.

In my opinion the reform of evil customs, while a way roundabout and slow, is the only efficient method. It is evil customs that obstruct the Government and destroy the virtue of the samurai.

BOOK III. PROPRIETY.

THE EMPIRE, THE EMPIRE OF THE EMPIRE.

When spring was giving way to summer and the days grew long, the leaves of the trees forming bowers more beautiful even than the flowers of spring, the Old Man spread his books beneath the window, read history and reflected profoundly. His friends came to spend the day with him, reading and talking. In some connection, I have forgotten what, some one said, "We cannot forget the former kings."¹ And the Old Man remarked :—

The empire is peace. Men of rank and virtue may treat their parents as is becoming parents and their virtue as becomes virtue; and the common folk too may find pleasure in their pleasure, profit in their profit, and leisure in their leisure. Thus our years pass away. It is all the blessing of peace. Since Ieyasu, his hair brushed by the wind, his body anointed with the rain, with lifelong labour caused confusion to cease and order to prevail, for more than an hundred years there has been no war. The waves of the four seas have been unruffled and no one has failed of the blessings of peace. We common folk must speak with reverence, yet is it the duty of scholars to celebrate the virtue of the Government. Not standing too much on ceremony, I have been thinking much of late of one detail in so great a mass of virtue and would proclaim it to all, as now to you.

¹ Book of Poetry—"The sacrificial Odes of Kau," Ode IV.

It is written, "Let the lord of the empire forget not that the empire is the empire of the empire, and not of one man."² Famous is that saying, and irrevocable for a thousand years! In China, excepting the Sage kings, most of the emperors who quieted confusion took the empire to be their own, and not the empire of the empire. When one of the emperors³ at the beginning of his reign heard that his most famous general was ill at the war, he recalled him in haste and vainly sought his cure by the aid of physicians. Then at last the emperor prayed to mountain, river, Heaven, "Spare his life a few years, and take mine with his!" He would not that he should survive his general, and so he swore by his own life. I am deeply moved as I read this incident. Of such a ruler it is said, "An emperor in truth."⁴ But those who long rule naturally come to think the empire given for one's own pleasure. They hold the empire fast lest some one take it from them, as a child holds fast its favourite toy. With such a heart, even though the empire is taken, it cannot long be held, as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi⁵ illustrate. They had no benevolence and the loss of the empire was of course. They were not fit to hold it. As men of old further said, "Treasure hides deep in the mountain: the man finds it who seeks it not."

² From the *Rikuto* of the *Shichisho*. 七書六編

³ Chu Yuen-chang, a plebeian by birth who overthrew the Mongols, A. D. 1368, and set up the Ming dynasty. "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. II, p. 176.

⁴ So said the celebrated general Baen (Ma Yuan) of his emperor Kwang Wu Ti of the Han dynasty, who reigned in China, A.D. 25-58.

⁵ Nobunaga, when at the height of his power, was treacherously killed, A. D. 1582. Hideyoshi then seized the power, and died A. D. 1598. After a time of war and strife Ieyasu overthrew all enemies and became Shōgun, handing down the position to his successors, forming the famous dynasty of the Tokugawa.

In the year A. D. 1586, after the battle at Nagakute, Ieyasu made peace with Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi sent a messenger to Hamamatsu in Enshu and invited Ieyasu to Ōsaka. But he refused to go, though repeated messengers came with urgent invitations. At last Hideyoshi sent his mother as hostage and thus urged consent. Then Ieyasu agreed to go. But his followers feared treachery and sought to dissuade him ;—" If you do not go it is true that Hideyoshi may renew the war, but your forces are the stronger and we are ready to throw away our lives. He cannot win though he bring an hundred times ten thousand men." But Ieyasu replied :—" It is as you say, and I do not accept his invitation because I fear him. But think how constant has been the war for generations without peace in capital or provinces until now. At last we have peace. Should I fight Hideyoshi, war begins again to the misery of the empire. If I meet evil, for the empire I shall die."⁶ With profound admiration all heard these words and could urge nothing more. He well knew his danger, and when he started for Ōsaka entrusted his affairs to his ministers Ii and Honda. Such words of truth affect both men and Heaven; and as Heaven's decree was in accord with the hearts of men he took possession of the empire. As the Chinese emperor prayed by his own life for the life of his general, so did Ieyasu pray by his life for the peace of the empire. There was the same broad spirit in them both, not attached to treasures but to righteousness; yet did Ieyasu exceed the other.

Once when in a friend's house our host related this story of Ieyasu, and guests and host were affected to tears. Strategists and schemers may think it a plan for attaching

⁶ See Rein's Japan, p.280. The comparative merits of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu are still stoutly debated. Kyusō is, of course, a thorough-going partisan.

men to self, and it may so seem to those who ever study from a false point of view. That cannot be helped. It is not told for the sake of such.

REMONSTRANCE MORE DIFFICULT THAN THE FOREMOST SPEAR.

But ever in China and Japan alike most men when in power have thought the empire the empire of one man. They have been extravagant and have laboured for fame. But Ieyasu served the empire, not thinking it his own nor desirous of luxury. He made his rule strong and bequeathed it to future generations; his glory remains and the empire rests in peace.

After his great victory at Seki-ga-hara⁷ some of his followers said to him,—“The empire is yours, gather treasures that your name may last. Hideyoshi built Dai Butsu.”⁸ But Ieyasu replied,—“So, Hideyoshi will be remembered by his Dai Butsu, but I care nothing for the transmission of my single name. I shall study the interests of the empire and leave it to my heir, that is far beyond building many a Dai Butsu.” Doubtless their proposal seemed foolish to him. To conquer Korea, erect Dai Butsu and spend vast treasures is to injure the empire, though it be wonderful in the eyes and ears of fools. Already thoughtful men condemn and the name remains to future time disgraced. But the Nikkō shrines are revered in all the provinces. Do you not understand? This is the true, illustrious undecaying name ever to be admired.

⁷ The decisive victory by which Ieyasu won the empire, A. D. 1600.

⁸ At Kyōto. It was destroyed by an earthquake, 1598. Quite a different view of the conduct of Ieyasu in connection with the Dai Butsu is given in Satow and Hawes' "Handbook," 1st. ed., p. 321. There he is represented as urging the heir of Hideyoshi to rebuild it on such a splendid scale as would exhaust his finances. And in connection with its dedication Ieyasu sought cause for offence and brought about the final downfall of his young rival. Ieyasu and his grandson are buried at Nikkō.

Ieyasu excelled all, but was not vain of his wisdom. On the contrary he approved the honest remonstrance of his inferiors. And indeed remonstrance may be put as the foundation of the wisdom of the ruler. Only the Sage does not err. If a man listen to reproof, though he err he is like a sick man who takes medicine and regains his strength. But however wise a man may be, if he will not listen to remonstrance he is like one who will take no medicine because his illness is slight and so the danger remains. But most strong rulers hate reproof and insist upon their own way. In China is the office of censor, but it is of little use. It is only a name, for honest men are readily removed and flatterers given office. When there is error there is no reform, nor remonstrance when the Government is bad, a grief that lasts from ancient days until now. It is still worse in Japan with its feudal government; the rulers govern by force of arms and inferiors must obey. Remonstrance ceases and sympathy with the people ends. Daily the evil grows, but those who know its cause are few.

Ieyasu was born in the midst of war and turmoil. He was sympathetic to inferiors and ever opened the way of words. Most admirable of men! Once in his castle, Honda Sado no Kami was present with some others. At the end of their business all withdrew save Honda and one other. The latter presented a writing to Ieyasu, who took it, asking, "What is this?" "Matters I have thought of much," was the reply, "and venture respectfully to suggest, thinking possibly one in ten thousand may be of use." "Thanks," said Ieyasu; "read it. There is no reason why Honda should not hear." So he began, and Ieyasu assented to each of the many particulars and finally took the paper saying, "Always be free to say what you think necessary." Afterwards when Honda only remained he said, "It was rudely done, and not a suggestion of value in it all." But Ieyasu waved his hand dissentingly. "Though it is not of great value still he had thought it over carefully and wrote

it in secret for my eye. His spirit should be praised. If he suggests anything of value I'll adopt it; if not, I'll let it alone. We should not call such remonstrance rude. Men do not know their own faults, but common folks have friends who reprove and criticise. They have opportunity for reform. This is their advantage. But rulers have no friends, but constantly meet with their inferiors who assent respectfully to every word. So they cannot know and reform, to their great loss. They lose their power and destroy their house because no one will remonstrate, and all they do is approved as right. Most essential is it that they be told their faults."

Honda remembered this and told it to his son weeping, as he spoke of the Shōgun's deep heart and broad humanity. And when the young man asked the name of the man and the purport of his paper, thinking to ridicule him, Honda reproved him sharply: "What have you to do with the man and his suggestions? Think of your lord's fine spirit!"

Afterwards, said Ieyasu to his samurai:—"A ruler must have faithful ministers. He who sees the error of his lord and remonstrates, not fearing his wrath, is braver than he who bears the foremost spear in battle. In the fight body and life are risked, but it is not certain death. Even if killed there is deathless fame and his lord laments. If there is victory great reward and glory are won and the inheritance goes down to son and grandson. But to grieve over his lord's faults and faithfully remonstrate when the words do not pass the ears and touch the heart is hard indeed. Disliked, distantly received, displaced by flatterers, his advice not taken, however loyal he may be at last he gives up the task, professes illness or retires into the quiet of old age. If he dares to risk his lord's displeasure in his faithfulness he may be imprisoned or even killed. He who fears not all this, but gives up even life to benefit his country, is highly to be praised. Compared with him the foremost spear is an easy post." To all ages should these words be repeated as a command.

SUGITA IKI.

So then the foremost place in the battle seems a place of difficulty but is not, and to remonstrate with one's lord seems easy, but is not. Lord and servant praise the foremost spear but I do not hear them praising him who loyally reproves. They should remember these words of Ieyasu.

In Kwan-ri Kan-ei, (1624-1643) the former lord of Echizen, Io no Kami, had a karō named Sugita Iki. He had risen from the ranks by his merits. It was his business to provide the funds for his lord's very expensive attendance in Edo. Not fearing his lord's wrath he was ever ready to reprove. And once it happened when Io no Kami was in Echizen that he went hawking, and on his return his karō all went forth to meet him. He was unusually happy and said, "The young men have never done better. If they always work as well they are certain of employment by the Shōgun in case of war. Rejoice with me!" So all congratulated him except Sugita alone. He said nothing, remaining at the foot of the line. Io no Kami waited a while wonderingly, and then said, "What do you think?" And Sugita replied, "With due respect yet are your remarks a cause for grief. When the samurai went with you their thought was this,—if we do not please him he may kill us; and they took final farewell of wife and child. So I have heard. If they thus hate their lord they will be useless in battle. Unless you know this it is foolish to rely on them."

Io no Kami scowled, and his sword bearer said to Sugita, "Go, please!" But Sugita scowled at him and said, "My task is not to go hawking with him and surround monkey or wild boar! Do not tell me what is of use!" So he cast aside his short sword, went to Io's side and said: "Kill me! It is far better than to live in vain and see your downfall! I shall count it as a sign of your favour!" So he folded his hands and stretched out his neck to the

blow. Io went to his apartment without a word. And the other karō said to Sugita : " What you say is true, but have a regard to the proper season. It was ill to mar the pleasure of his return." But Sugita replied :—" There is never a proper season for remonstrance. I thought it fitting to-day. I have risen from the ranks and doubtless look at things differently from you. My death is of no consequence." All listened with admiration.

Sugita went home and prepared himself for harakiri, awaiting his lord's word. His wife had been with him from the time he was in the ranks, and to her he said : " I have a word to leave with you. A woman cannot be directly honoured by our lord, but as he has honoured me you have shared in it. You are no longer the wife of a foot soldier but of a karō. You have many servants. It is an infinite blessing he has conferred on you, is it not ? After I am dead, remember this great blessing morning and evening and feel no hatred to your lord. If in your grief you hate him in the least and it appear in words, in the depths of Hades I shall know it and be displeased." In constant expectation he waited until late at night when there came a rapping at his door. Some one said : " His lordship has business for you. Come to the castle." " The time has come," Sugita thought, as he obeyed. But Io sent for Sugita to come direct to his bed chamber and said : " I cannot sleep for thoughts of your words to-day. So I have sent for you so late at night. I need not speak of my errors. I am filled with admiration at your straightforward remonstrance." Therewith he handed Sugita a sword as a reward.⁹ At this so unexpected an event Sugita wept as he withdrew.

When I was in Kaga an Echizen man told me this. Sugita was such an one as Ieyasu praised. Such a karō has a station more difficult far than the foremost spear.

⁹ The direct bestowal of a gift by the hand of the daimyō was regarded as the greatest of rewards.

BAN DAIZEN.

Skillful flatterers are liked and find ready employment, but in matters of importance strong-hearted men are the only resource. I have another story for you, different from Sugita's.

During the winter war at Ōsaka, Katakiri Ichi no Kami, a follower of Ieyasu, was in the castle of Ibaraki in Setsu. Hearing that Shibayama Kohei in the castle at Sakae in Idzumi was in danger, Katakiri determined to send him aid. *En route* Katakiri's troops were surrounded by their enemies from Ōsaka at Amagaseki; and as those in the Amagaseki castle refused all aid, the troops were every one slain. The lord of Amagaseki was a child and the castle was commanded by generals owing allegiance to Musashi no Kami. Now Musashi no Kami doubted the loyalty of Katakiri to Ieyasu and therefore refused to succor his troops. But all the world believed that Musashi no Kami was secretly friendly to the enemy.

After peace was made Ieyasu examined this matter in the Castle of Nijō in Kyōto. Musashi no Kami was represented by his karō Ban Daizen, a man well known to Ieyasu. Ban Daizen made his representations, but the wrath of Ieyasu ceased not. "You have excuses in abundance," he said, "yet Musashi no Kami allowed his allies to be killed before his eyes. That is his wretched heart!" and he started to leave the room, but Ban Daizen cast aside his short sword, crept to the Shōgun's side and laid hold upon his skirt. He wept and cried,—"Oh! How merciless! Even if not your daughter's son, yet is not Musashi no Kami your grandson?"¹⁰ When can I speak if not now?" His sincerity effected his purpose, and the Shōgun said, "Very well! Go back at once and put Musashi no Kami at ease." Ban Daizen made obeisance with folded hands and bowed head, and retired.

The Shōgun said to those who remained, "Daizen's

¹⁰ Through adoption.

father's name was also Daizen. He was a betto. When Musashi no Kami's father was young and was still called Shozaburō, he was in the battle at Nagakute. When his father and brother were killed he started his horse that he might go and die with them. But Daizen seized the bridle, stopped the horse, turned him about and fled with him. Shozaburō in great anger shouted, "Let go!" and for a quarter of a mile kicked Daizen about the head until the blood flowed from his face like a cataract. But Daizen kept his hold and brought Shozaburō off. Had he been killed his useless death would have ended his family, so the feudal house of Banshu is the work of Daizen. The son is like the father. No one else would do what he has done just now. Musashi no Kami is favoured in having such a servant."

And there is no other like instance. No other man of low rank has thus taken his life in his hand and approached the Shōgun in behalf of the innocence of his lord. And so it was that the Shōgun listened, relented and admired. Truly it was not an ordinary affair! And it illustrates too the great virtue of the Shōgun. He ever restrained his wrath and strengthened the faithfulness of his followers. He did not restrain and curb their courage, and they thought nothing of giving up their lives for his sake. Many wise and skilful nobles and generals have come to grief in the end because they curbed the faithfulness of their followers and depended wholly on themselves. The profound wisdom of Ieyasu is in striking contrast, and it was this that made his bowmen and spearmen the best in the empire.

But men say nowadays, "Tokugawa won because that was his fate and fate is irresistible!" His humanity and virtue were great and naturally he satisfied the decree of Heaven. But this alone does not account for his success. The strength of his troops explains his "fate." He cultivated their faithfulness. It is most essential thus to promote the faithfulness of the common people. How shallow is this talk of his resistless fate!

THE FIDELITY OF THE SAMURAI.

In the period Genko-Kemmu (1331-1335) many samurai were faithful unto death. I admire with tears a retainer of Hō-jō Takatoku named Andōzaimon Shoshu, the uncle of Nitta Yoshisada's wife. When Kamakura was taken by Nitta his wife secretly sent a letter to her uncle. He was a general fighting with the Hōjō and against Nitta. His soldiers were killed, himself was wounded and he was retreating when news came that Takatoku had burned his castle and fled to Tōshōji. Andōzaimon asked if many had killed themselves at the burning of the castle and was told "not one." "Shameful," he replied. "There we will die." So with an hundred men he went on to the castle and wept as he beheld the smoking ruins. Just then came the letter from his niece. He opened it and read,—“Since Kamakura is destroyed come to me. I'll obtain your pardon with my life.” Very angrily he spoke, “I have been favoured by my lord, as all know. Shall I be so shameless as to follow Yoshisada now! His wife wants to help her uncle; but if Yoshisada knows the duty of a samurai he will put a stop to such attempts. He did not send it or agree to it. But if he did, if he meant to test me, she should not have permitted such an attempt to destroy my name. He and his wife alike are worthy of contempt!” With grief and anger there before the messenger, he wrapped the letter around his sword and slew himself.

Ah, what a man was that! How pure his purpose! Who can excel him?

But in recent years in the period Tenshō (A. D. 1573-1590) a retainer of Takeda Katsuyori named Komiyama Naizen is most to be admired. He was the favourite of his master, until at last they were separated by a quarrel and Naizen was condemned through false witnesses and dismissed from office. When the troops of Oda Nobunaga attacked the province of Kai, Katsuyori was defeated and fled

with forty-two followers to Tenmokuzan. When Naizen heard of the disaster he wished to help and met Katsuyori on his retreat. All the false witnesses, all with whom Naizen had quarrelled had fled, deserting their lord. Sorrowfully spoke Naizen: "My lord dismissed me, and now should I die for my country it will be a reflection on his judgment; but if I do not die I shall injure the fidelity of the samurai. Though I hurt his fame I must not forsake virtue," and he died with the forty-two faithful ones. As all the others had fled and these forty-two samurai alone held faithful to their lord without a thought of disobedience, they all illustrate samurai fidelity. But Naizen was preëminent among them, for he had been unjustly condemned and came expressly that he might die.

When Katsuyori and all his party had been destroyed, Ieyasu much admired the fidelity of Naizen and regretted that his worship should cease, as he had no children. So Ieyasu employed Naizen's younger brother, and before the battle at Odawara gave him a high command, speaking at length of Naizen's fidelity,—“Naizen was a model samurai, and though his brother is so young I have given him this command in token of my admiration of such loyalty.” Truly that was praise after death, and the reward of loyalty.

THE HEROIC WOMAN HAS NO SEED.

When in Kaga I heard a man remark:—“All sins, great and small, may be forgiven on repentance and no scars remain, except two; the flight of a samurai from the post where he should die, and theft. These leave a lifelong wound which never heals. All born as samurai, men and women, are taught from childhood that fidelity must never be forgotten.” Thereupon I continued:—Of course, and woman is ever taught that submission is her chief duty, and though she fully perform this high duty of fidelity, yet is she never to

forget this one thing. If in unexpected strait her weak heart forsakes fidelity, all her other virtues will not atone. In Japan and China alike have been women whose virtue has exceeded that of man.

The wife of Nagaoka Itchu no Kami Tadaoki, was the daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide, the retainer of Oda Nobunaga who killed both his lord and his lord's son.¹¹ In turn he was destroyed by Hideyoshi. Later Tadaoki, at the time of Seki-ga-hara, went to join Ieyasu in the east. During his absence Ishida Mitsunari¹² sent troops to Tadaoki's castle to seize his wife, but she exclaimed, "I'll not disgrace my husband's house through my desire for life," and killed herself before the enemy got in. Excited by her virtue, the two or three samurai who were with her fired the mansion and slew themselves, and her women took hold of hands, jumped into the fire and died. Even yet shall we praise that deed! The rebel Mitsuhide had such a child, scarcely equalled in China or Japan! As the proverb says: "The general has no seed," so I'll add,—The heroic woman has no seed.¹³

But a guest remarked:—"Not so; not having seed is still to have seed. Fidelity makes the nature of benevolence and righteousness its seed. Then without place or ancestor, without race, without the distinction of high or low, male or female, without family connection, good children come from evil parents, and evil children from the good."

The Old Man was greatly pleased and said:—True! I had thought only of man's nature, not of Heaven's. Such

¹¹ Rein, p. 270 and p. 276.

¹² Ishida Mitsunari was the chief opponent of Ieyasu, in the struggles following the death of Hideyoshi. Mitsunari vainly attempted to attach Tadaoki to his cause but Tadaoki joined Ieyasu. Rein p. 296.

¹³ For a somewhat similar incident see Rein, p. 279. In the war of the restoration in 1868 some samurai women of Aizu slew their infant sons and themselves when the castle fell.

virtue of women and the vulgar must be praised as Heaven's nature. Thus will the samurai be excited to virtue and virtuous hearts will be produced. Let me speak of Shidzuka, the uneducated concubine of Minamoto Yoshitsune.¹⁴ She was a famous dancer in Kyōto, talented, beautiful and beloved of Yoshitsune. When he fled she went with him to Mt. Yoshino and then returned to Kyōto. Called to Kamakura and examined she replied: "I know so far as Mt. Yoshino. No further." She lingered there until the birth of Yoshitsune's child. Yoritomo desired to see her dance and commanded her presence at Tsurugaoka.¹⁵ She refused repeatedly but was forced to comply at last. Yoritomo expected a song and dance for his feast, but she sang:

To and fro like the reel
 Would that old times might return!
 I long for the trace of the man
 Who entered Yoshino's snow white peak.

Yoritomo cried out in anger: "You sing of that rebel Yoshitsune instead of celebrating the present time! It is a crime!" But at the request of his wife he forgave the girl. She cared not, but returned straight to Kyōto and lived in seclusion. Yoritomo's great power bent trees and grass but she feared it not. Her heart was wholly set on Yoshitsune and she excelled the samurai who died with him at Takadate.

I regret that the Kyōto scholar, Nakamura Tekizai, omitted Shidzuka from his account of the famous women of China and Japan, the Hime Kagami. Probably her low origin and occupation as a dancing girl accounts for her exclusion. But her story teaches an important lesson and must not be forgotten. The Book of Poetry says, "Take the herbs; uproot them not as lowly born."

¹⁴ Rein pp. 239-240. The great popularity of Yoshitsune brought upon him the fatal jealousy of his brother, Yoritomo, who was the first Shōgun.

¹⁵ Tsurugaoka, a temple near Kamakura.

AMANO SABUROBEI.

Another day the Old Man said to the assembled guests : This fidelity reveals itself in the stress of strange events. Even in peace and safety pure-hearted samurai are to be highly prized, for they perfectly perform their official duties, and when the emergency comes reveal their fidelity. In peace and in war they are invaluable. Every wise and brave samurai may be given office, and he will have his use; but only the pure in heart must be placed in high position. Unless the heart is pure there is flattery and strife for power and fame, and apparent friends will hate each other. Then wisdom and bravery too will disappear. Timidly will precedents be followed, and each will so act that evil may not come to self. There will be no sign of anything superior, and duty will be slackly performed or wholly forgotten.

In the period Ei-roku (A. D. 1558-1570), Ieyasu was in Mikawa.¹ He established the laws and appointed three officers, Kōriki Yozaemon Kiyonaga, Honda Sakuzaemon Shigetsugu and Amano Saburobei Yasukage, popularly called Buddha Kōriki, Demon Sakuza and Pliant Amao; for the first was merciful, the second severe and the third neither merciful nor severe but guided wholly by reason. All three were of pure heart and there was no competition between them. No one sought to conform to the others, but each followed his own judgment. So Ieyasu gave them the same office and each went his own way independently, but as their government was righteous and as everything was well cared for, all men admired Ieyasu's clear judgment in the choice of men.

I do not know particularly the characteristics of Honda and Kōriki, but in the period Keichō (A. D. 1596-1614) Amano had the castle Kokokuji in Suruga, with an income of thirty thousand koku of rice.² He had an immense number of bamboos cut, piled up and ready for use, with

¹ Ieyasu was the Daimyo of Mikawa before he became Shōgun.

² A koku of rice is 5.13 bushels.

three foot soldiers in charge. Some men came from the estates of the Shōgun and stole some of the bamboos, one of the robbers being killed by the guards. The men who escaped complained to Ide, a local official of the Shōgun. Ide may have made a careful examination, but he seems not to have known of the theft of the bamboos, for he sent a messenger to Amano demanding the immediate capital punishment of the soldiers who had killed the robber; "For," said he, "the unauthorized killing of one of the people of the Shōgun is a crime." But Amano replied, "To kill a thief is according to the law. It is no crime. The soldiers killed him at my command. If it is a crime the guilt is mine." So he protected the guard. But Ide could not let the matter rest and appealed to the Shōgun, who commanded Amano to give up the man. But Amano replied as before, and obeyed not. Then Ieyasu said: "Amano is not a man who will sin; perhaps he is deceived. I'll examine into the affair again by and by," and he sent one of his high officers to Amano. And the officer said, "Even though you are in the right yet will the authority of the Shōgun be weakened if he is not obeyed. Draw lots among the three men and kill the one thus selected." Then Amano replied: "As you urge the weakening of the authority of the Shōgun I must consent. But," he added, "the spirit of the strong samurai does not consent to the killing of the innocent that one's self may be exalted. I may well give up my rank;" and he left his castle and disappeared.

In the time of the next Shōgun, a man in some place or other met an ascetic whom he took to be Amano, but whether rightly or not we do not know. No matter; Amano was truly a pure-hearted samurai. It was not right to slay the innocent and protect one's self. But were he not to kill the soldier he would disobey the Shōgun. Neither course was permissible. So he could not remain in the world, and gave up his income of thirty thousand koku and disappeared forever. That is without a parallel.

YUGE SO AND SO.

But pure-hearted samurai cease not to appear. In Kwan-ei-Shō-hō (A. D. 1624-1647) was a branch temple of Tentokuji, in Shiba, Edo, where always prayers were said without intermission. One day, at evening, as the priest went out of the temple gate he observed a man with a bundle wrapped in oil paper. He seemed a traveller and not a common man. When the priest returned from his errand there was the man still in the gateway. Thinking that strange the priest asked, "Who are you? Come in and rest." "I am listening to the temple prayers," the man replied, "for I like to hear them said. On your invitation I'll go in and have a cup of tea." So in they went and the priest inquired whence he came and whither he journeyed.

The man replied, "From Oshu. I once had a friend in Edo but I cannot find him. So I must find some place." And the priest rejoined, "Stay here to-night, it is so late." So he stayed, and the next day the priest asked him to remain until he should find some occupation. He thanked the priest and remained. It soon appeared that he was an educated man, and the head of Tentokuji called him and helped him and gave him various tasks about the temple, which were all diligently performed. By and by he was made a superintendent of many priests and became a person of importance in the temple.

At that time it happened that a nobleman who had retired from active life was making researches into the history of the past and sought scholarly samurai to help him, paying them good salaries. The people of the temple told him of Yuge and highly recommended him as especially informed about the past. But Yuge thanked the head of the temple when he was informed of it, and said, "I do not intend to enter service again, but your kindness entitles you to know my past." So he told the priest his real name and that he had been a retainer of Gamo Ujisato, and continued :

"Since Gamo was destroyed I have no heart for service under any other and purposed to spend my life as a beggar. With no design on my part I have become a recipient of the blessings of the temple, and now my one desire is to repay what I have received. But I find no means so to do." Then he showed the testimonial Gamo had given him for his services in the battle at Kunohe, and elsewhere, and the letters he had received from many nobles offering him employment. "All are useless now," he said, and put them in the fire.³

So he lived long in the temple. And in the year A. D. 1657, when Tentokuji was burned, Yuge said: "Permit me to help," and worked on after the chief priest and all the other priests had fled, saving the images, furniture and books. When all were safe he sent off the men who had been helping him.

Afterwards in the ruins of the main hall was found the body of a man, sitting with clasped hands like a priest. It was Yuge, and all the temple folk wept and grieved for him. But he had no desire to abide in the temple; he had merely waited for an opportunity to return the favours he had received. At the fire he found the opportunity he sought, and after working to the end purposely perished in the flames. How pure and holy was his heart!

When I was young I heard a story about another samurai. He was a retainer of the late Abe Bungō no Kami, but had given up his position and taken a house in Hachobori, Edo. I have forgotten his name. As the years went by he grew poor until he was in need of food. His landlord took pity on him and sent him food, but he became ill. Then his landlord sent him gruel, but he declined it as too

³ Gamo Ujisato was one of Hideyoshi's famous generals. He was made daimyo of Aizu and aided in the subjugation of the north (Oshu) and among his battles was one at Kunohe. He was accused of seeking independent authority for himself and was poisoned. He was a Christian.

ill to eat. Then he fastened up his door so that no one could enter and his landlord could only stand without and make inquiries. By and by the responses ceased. Then the landlord called the neighbors, broke open the door and went in. Seated on straw matting and leaning against his armour box with his two swords upon his knees, the samurai was dead. By his side was a writing. It expressed his appreciation of his landlord's kindness, with money to pay his rent and for his funeral. His armour was carefully arranged in its box, and with it three gold pieces. His swords were old but had gold ornaments. He had only the clothes he wore and there was not a pot nor any furniture. Nor was there any appearance that he had eaten for an hundred days. The landlord informed the officials, and they told him to carry out the written instructions. When Bungō no Kami heard the circumstance he was greatly grieved. The samurai had been a man of strength and always first when there was some great thing to do. I greatly grieve over his useless death by starvation; and it would be wrong that such a man should remain concealed, unmentioned by any one.

THE TWO BEGGARS.

Nowadays customs are decayed and all men are selfish. But since man's nature is originally good, without regard to family or customs, there are men who know the right even among the beggars.

Ten years ago on the 17th day of the 12th month of the year U, Mitsunoto, of the period Kyōhō, (12th Jan. A.D. 1724) a clerk named Ichijūrō, in the employment of a merchant of Muromachi, Edo, named Echigoya Kichibei, lost a purse containing thirty ryō as he was returning from collecting some accounts. He thought it had been stolen, but returned over his route looking for it carefully. At last a beggar met him and asked, "What have you lost? Is it money?" Overjoyed Ichijūrō told of his loss and the beg-

gar said that he had found the purse and was seeking its owner. So Ichijurō exactly described its contents, money, papers and all, and the beggar gave it back to him. In his joy at the unexpected event Ichijurō offered the beggar five ryō, but the beggar would not take them. "But it was all gone and you returned it! Do take five ryō!" said Ichijurō. But the beggar persisted. "Had I wanted five ryō I should not have returned the thirty. But I did not think it mine when I picked it up. I thought that some one had lost his master's money and would be in trouble. Some men might have kept it, but I found it and desired to give it back. Now as I have returned it my business is at an end." And off he ran as fast as he could go. But Ichijurō took an itchi bu from the purse and followed him crying, "It is cold to-day! Take this for sake." So the beggar took it and said, "I'll drink the sake." And in answer to a question he said, "I am Hachibei, a beggar of Kurumazenshichi."

When Ichijurō went home and told his story his master wept in admiration and determined to give the beggar the five ryō. So on the following morning he sent Ichijurō and his chief clerk to Zenshichi, the beggar's master, to ask him to try and persuade Hachibei to take the money. But Zenshichi said, "The beggar Hachibei got a bu somewhere last night and called his friends together and had a feast of fish and sake. He drank a great deal himself and whether it did not agree with him, he died this morning." Ichijurō was astonished and asked for the body, and asked the man not to send it off or have it buried. So going home Ichijurō told his master, who sent for the corpse and expended the five ryō on a funeral, interring it at Muenji in Hongō. It was certainly wonderful that a merchant should thus be affected by righteousness. He had often been employed by the Lord of Kaga, and on the twentieth of the month Ichijurō went to Kaga Yashiki and told the story to the officials there, and they told it to me.

Hachibei was, I judge, no ordinary man. He had doubtless entered the beggar's guild because poor and homeless. He saw no resource in life, and having fortunately money for a feast for his comrades he thought it a good end and choked himself. Had he been a samurai or in authority he would never have used his power to take that which belonged to others. There are men whose name is splendidly samurai, but who in truth are beggars, but this man who was called a beggar was in truth a samurai.

In Kaga is a place called Nodayama, the burial place of the Maeda family. Their retainers, too, are all buried at the foot of the hill. At the festival of the Bon, candles are put at all the graves and wealthy folk build a miniature house over the grave and put a guard on watch. But for the most part the candles are simply lighted and left to burn themselves out. So bad men come, put out the candles and steal them. A beggar slept there wrapped up in matting. He forbade the thieves to touch the candles, saying, "These offerings at the graves of ancestors are not to be touched." They reviled him, saying, "A beggar has no right to speak!" Then he replied, "True, I am a beggar, for I do not as you." That was very interesting. His words were well chosen and his meaning plain.

As I constantly repeat, in both China and Japan men of fidelity cannot escape suffering. They may even lack sufficient clothes and food, and fall in field or stream unnoticed by the world. What is more lamentable? Surely it is our duty to reveal such hidden righteousness. There are many like Yuge, the beggar Hachibei, and this beggar in Kaga. Yet I cannot help those of whom I do not hear; but if I hear I cannot forbear to speak.

Of old when the emperor commanded that books of poetry be made, the names of dancing girls and priests appeared with the names of nobles and even of the emperor himself. That is one of the merits of our Japanese poetry, for poetry knows no distinction of rank. So does my talk

of fidelity bring in samurai of distinguished families with dancing girls and beggars. Fidelity knows no distinction of high and low. This is its virtue.

All present agreed with this opinion of the Old Man.

BOOK IV. WISDOM.

DARK IS THE FOOT OF THE CANDLESTICK.

When the dog days were half gone, some friends came to the Old Man's cottage on Suruga Dai to enjoy its coolness. The daily rain had ceased and the setting sun still lingered in the western trees. Cool the drops hung on tree and bamboo, and sweet was the odor of the lotus in the pond. The guests could not leave the scene, but stood on the balcony, and taking hold of its rail recited poetry, until at last in the gathering darkness white had melted into black. Then they went within and began to say farewell. But the Old Man urged them to remain and, consenting to pass the evening with him in talk, all sat down. As the lights were brought the Old Man had a thought, and pointing to the candles said, "Expound the proverb, 'Dark is the Foot of the Candlestick'."

So one took up the theme and said:—"That which everywhere is spoken of is not known at home. We foolish men explain it thus and Mencius sets forth the reason, 'The Way that is near men seek afar off';¹ they are forgetful of the beginning and seek the end, as the archer looks at the distant mark". Then another continued:—"The verse of the nun Godo in works of the Radaikyō² is an interesting illustration of the theme;—'Seeking spring all day we see

¹ Book IV, Part I, Chapter XI.

² A Buddhist priest said to be of India (?).

it not. The haze rests on the sandal-prints along the ridges of the rice fields. Returning laughingly we pick a blossom of the plum and as we smell it, lo! behold! all the spring is present in the twig! This is equally true of other things besides the 'Way.' In the time of To-shiu³ Kanon attacked Sanshin, and when Ōmō came forth to meet him cried, 'Why do not the heroes of Sanshin come forth?' So dark were his eyes since no hero of them all excelled Ōmō. Not to know the hero before one's eyes but to ask the hero for heroes, surely that excellently sets forth our proverb. So has it ever been in China and Japan! Great generals have sought distant enterprises and their renown has gone abroad even to the land of their enemies, yet have the enemies at home, within the hedge, remained unknown; so did Oda Nobunaga conquer east and west and yet, so dark was it close at hand, was slain by Akechi."⁴

Then the Old Man spoke:—You have completely taught the meaning of the proverb as to the attainment of righteousness, but you have used this darkness near at hand in a bad sense. I would use it also in illustration of the good. There is this further meaning in it. As the short poem of Kantaishi has it,—'Vain is the candlestick eight feet long. The short one two feet long is victor in giving light.' For it is dark below the long and light below the short candlestick, so as we wish to read and need a light close at hand we honour the short one, a foot or two in length. But it fails to illuminate the room and is useless in the great apartment filled with guests. So then, those which brighten the distance are dark close at hand. If from the darkness we see the light, it is all clear to our eyes; but if from the light we seek to penetrate the darkness, we can see it not. Thus to see the light from the darkness is to hide deeply and cherish profoundly one's own wisdom. Then if light shines

³ The Eastern Tsin, A. D. 317-419.

⁴ Rein's Japan, pp. 269-270.

out from such darkness it is naturally strong and clear and reaches to a distance. This is true light. But when proud of intellect we labour with celerity and clearness to illuminate that which is close at hand, we look at the darkness from the light. Such light is weak, confined and superficial. It does not reach to the distance and merely illuminates our fingers ends. So we are like the unskilled go-player: we cannot see the end, and mistake at every move.

In China and Japan men of great and clear wisdom have been modest and unwilling to use their gifts. So says Laotz:⁶—"The wise merchant keeps his treasure out of sight and the wisdom of the wise seems folly." Not long ago Itakura Suwo no Kami was judge in Kyōto. His quick intelligence revealed itself in his face, and men were disconcerted as they saw his heart, so that neither prosecutor nor accused could fully state his case. So when Itakura heard a cause he shut himself behind screens, ground tea and was as if he heard not. Now he is famous. When reasons good and bad were stated, he was as a god in decisions and none failed to obey his words. Even yet there are countless stories of him, and among them all I like this one best: Once as he passed through a country district a child cried out, "There goes Suwo." As he heard the shout he said, "No one any where in the capital or provinces, child or adult, man or woman, does not know that I am the Shōgun's representative in Kyōto. No one calls me Suwo. But this child repeats what he has learned. The people of the house must hate me, and therefore call me Suwo." So he asked who lived within, and the following day summoned the master of the house and inquired, "Has any cause of yours been judged by me? Do not be alarmed. Tell me the facts?" After many excuses, as he could not get off, the man finally replied;—"In such a month and year a

⁶ In his reputed conversation with Confucius. Chinese Classics Vol. I: Prolegomena, p. 65.

relative and I quarrelled about the division of my father's property. He was in the wrong but hired many false witnesses and gained his suit," and the man stated the particulars. So Lord Suwo told his men to examine the records and it was as the man had said. So the case was again reviewed and finally Itakura said, "The decision was wrong. But it is long past and cannot now be reversed. I'll pay you for your loss and apologize for my error." So he gave the man his money.

As the candlestick is long its base is dark, but its light shines far. So is the "Way" of the superior man dark indeed but grows daily bright. If the candlestick is short the base is bright, but the light goes but a little way. So is the "way" of the little man destroyed day by day. But your explanation is the true one; this of mine is apart. I have dwelt too long on this subject thoughtlessly, said the Old Man with a laugh. But the guests replied, "It is wonderful what meaning you can find even in a theme like this."

LAWS ARE LIKE A RIVER.

When the moon is full it wanes and the flower in full bloom scatters. We dislike the putting forth of full strength by anything. Seven or eight tenths of our strength should be used and the rest reserved. Should all be used, regret follows fast. Not wholly should a superior man give himself to joy nor to friendship without reserve. To accept hospitality too freely becomes rudeness and to become too intimate is to give offence. And the same principle holds with the government, as the vulgar saying is, "The government of the land must be like the stick that stirs the rice in the box, it stops not at the corners"; and where it does not reach is the place of freedom. So the Book of Changes teaches us that when the king hunts the animals are surrounded on three sides, that one side may be left open for their escape. There has never been a time when there were

not concubines and favourites, nor any country without evil men. Yet do the good win. Let ruler and ruled, high and low, show mercy and loyalty, then shall the foundations of the state be strengthened.

And thus it is that the ancient rulers exalt intelligence but do not praise acuteness. The two are alike and yet differ. Intelligence is the candle that illuminates the room, and though the foot is dark the room is bright. Acuteness is like a lantern, excellent for finding things just at hand but useless at a distance. The virtue of the ruler is like the candle and not like the lantern.

The Imperial laws are lenient and broad, like the river; they are not narrow and small like canals. And just because the river is so big and well known it is easily avoided; so deep and broad is it that it cannot be despised nor readily injured. But canals are many and small, narrow, difficult to avoid and easily injured. No one steps into the river by mistake, but constantly men slip into the canals. Still the government must not be mere leniency. Many details confuse the laws and make them cruel and hated, yet must they be severe according to times and circumstances. In times of perfect peace men float in lazy pleasure, and desiring luxury, security is thought most important of all, then with ease ancient evils cannot be escaped. Reform the government, increase the severity of the laws and make new the people's eyes and ears. The people rejoice at the accomplishment of the task: they cannot aid in its inception. They are foolish and look not to the good or evil of the state but only to their own. They are fault-finding and fertile in arguments.

When Shishan ruled Tei he strenuously reformed the evil customs, forbade extravagance in dress and equipage and made rules for the dwellings of the people. The rich in fear hid away their clothes and the landlords gave their possessions to the government, which redistributed them to their people. So the people sang,—“ We hide our hats

and clothes. Our lands are taken and divided. We will not blame him who kills Shishan." But in a short three years extravagance had ceased and riot and crime had disappeared and then the people sang, "Let Shishan teach our brothers and children; Shishan increases our fields; should Shishan die who could take his place?" And Confucius said,—“Shishan is a superior man.”⁶ So the government loves and cherishes the people with leniency and severity. When lenient, the people grow selfish, and with severity comes reform. When severe, the people are harmed and then leniency must be invoked. Severity repairs the harm wrought by leniency, and leniency heals the wounds of severity. Thus is the government successful. As Confucius said, “Neither should be used by itself.”

So the state reforms evils great and small and for the rest, ancient precedent should be followed unchanged. The carpenter may indeed forsake the traditions of his craft and form new methods for himself, but how narrow will be his rules and how poor his workmanship. With much pains and great thought he accomplishes nothing. In everything it is easy to follow precedent and difficult to invent new ways. There are ever men ready to show their ability in inventions; and though they may find something of value one time out of ten, yet will it even prove only of immediate use, and not of value in the future. They see that which is easy only and not the many difficulties. Treasure and strength are wasted in the end. Especially should the good laws of our ancestors and the tried institutions of the past be untouched. They are familiar to eyes and ears, and to be changed only at the risk of losing the people's hearts.

But the rule is not absolute. Some laws were es-

⁶ Shishan (Kung-sun K'iao) was chief minister of Cheng when lawlessness and disorder prevailed. When he had reigned three years the doors were not locked at night and lost articles were not picked up on the highway. Mayers, p. 221, *Analects*, Book V, Chap. XV.

tablished to meet peculiar needs. Such should not be continued but should be reformed. Otherwise society is harmed and government impeded in the name of the past. To reform such evils is really to fulfil the purpose of our ancestors. Not otherwise did they desire that government should be carried on and long for filial sons and grandsons.

As thus the Old Man set forth his argument with instances ancient and modern, the short summer night showed the coming dawn; the guests said farewell and took their leave.

TSURE-DZURE GUSA.

On another occasion when guests came to see the Old Man a copy of the *Tsure-dzure Gusa*⁷ was seen by his side and he was asked, Do you like the Book? Kenko was witty and used language well in the description of emotions and scenery. "No," was the reply; "I only read it as a pastime to the children, while I am ill. I do not really like it." "Do you not agree to the general opinion," asked another guest, "that Kenko was a wise man?" And the Old Man replied,—Men who forsake the world fancy Kenko; men who like him care neither for fame nor gain. But I am not so sure of that. The *Taiheiki* says that he wrote a lustful letter for Ko no Moronawo; and the *Entairiaku* says that when he accepted the invitation of Iga no Kami, Tachibana no Naritada, and went to Iga he committed adultery with Naritada's daughter. Some of his poems were written at that time. So we see that he flattered the world and was lustful. He talked of deserting the world and despising fame and gain, but he lacked the firm purpose of the man who really deserts the world. He followed Buddhism; and so

⁷ Kenko was an official who became a priest on the death of his Imperial master. Kenko died A. D. 1350. A translation of the *Tsure-dzure Gusa* may be found in *The Chrysanthemum*, Vol. III, by the Rev. C. S. Eby.

there are poems of lust and sin mingled with his talk of forsaking the world. Manifestly he was not a wise man.

Besides a few works on history like the *Sankyō Ega Monogatari* which record facts there are no books worth reading in our literature. For the most part they are sweet stories of the Buddhas of which we soon weary. But the evil is traditional, long continued and beyond remedy. And other books are full of lust, not to be even mentioned, like the *Genji Monogatari*,^a which should never be shown to a woman or a young man. Such books lead to vice. Our nobles call the *Genji Monogatari* a national treasure, why I do not know, unless it is that they are intoxicated with its style. That is like plucking the spring blossom unmindful of autumn's fruit. The book is full of adulteries from beginning to end. Seeing the right ourselves become good, seeing the wrong we should reprove ourselves. The *Genji Monogatari*, *Chōkonka* and *Seishōki* are of a class,—vile, mean, comparable to the books of the sages as charcoal to ice, as the stench of decay to the perfume of flowers.

Long has Buddhism made Japan think of nothing as important except the worship of the Buddha. So it is that evil customs prevail and there is no one who does not find pleasure in lust. And the story books are full of the same things. Other writings contain for the most part low wit and vile lies, without a virtue. They are altogether worse than the *Tsurezure Gusa*. Take out the lust and Buddhism from that book, and scenery and the emotions are well described. There is a good deal that is silly, yet there is also reason and principles. Had he been learned in the "Way" of the sages he had not fallen into Buddhism. And moreover

^a The *Genji Monogatari* was written in the year A. D. 1004, "Things Japanese," p. 269. It quite deserves the sharp judgment here given. The first part has been translated into English by Suyematsu Kenchō. The *Chōkonka* and *Seishōki* are Chinese books.

he sinned through lust, so that his filthy name remains. Alas! Thus should we learn how dangerous are man's lusts.

THE DAIBUTSU PENCE.

What I ever hate is the conduct of Shigehira. It was not a disgrace that he was captured by the enemy, but while imprisoned at Kamakura he went into the drinking hall and had all sorts of talk with the dancing girls. When he was sent to Nara he asked his guardes to send him his beloved concubine. Surely these are things not to be done by a man! It was most miserable, but he felt no shame. But on the other hand he felt he had committed a great crime, and was in great fear because in obedience to his father he had burned the Dai Butsu at Nara! At Kamakura he confessed this and sought the forgiveness of Yoritomo; and again, when at Kyōto he met the priest Honen he mourned over it. Such repentance shows a heart dark beyond all help.⁹

Later on Matsunaga Danjo also burned the Nara Dai Butsu, and so strong a man as Nobunaga thought it a great crime. So when Danjo killed his lord Miyoshi Yoshinaga, and the Shōgun Nobunaga put these crimes together to his shame. How can Buddhism thus deceive the heart of man?⁹

But in the period Kambun (A.D. 1661-1673) Matsudaira Idzu no Kami Nobutsuna was in power and broke up the metal of the Nara images which had been honoured for a thousand years and turned Dai Butsu into pence, a great profit to the empire quite unparalleled. His strong wisdom was unique. With the advance of civilization since the estab-

⁹ Shigehira was a Taira Kuge. Honen was the instructor of the founder of the Hon-gwan-ji sect Shinran Shonin. Danjo became Nobunaga's follower, after he had committed these crimes.

lishment of the Tokugawa rule such men frequently appear. Should men like Shigehira hear of such deeds they would die of astonishment. All of Idzu no Kami's Government was good, but three things are preëminent: his forbidding retainers to die with their lords, his stopping the custom of sending hostages to the Shōgun and his conversion of the Dai Butsu into pence. By the first, an evil to future generations was prevented; by the second, sorrow was averted in all the provinces; and by the third a great error was corrected, an inheritance for future ages.

There were many such men in power, and their blessing comes to us in this continued peace. But Idzu no Kami was first among them all. He was sent to fight at Amakusa,¹⁰ and after his victory he returned to Edo and went in to see the Shōgun just as he was in travelling array. As he entered, all congratulated him; and in the ante-room was Shinzaemon, to whom Idzu no Kami remarked as he passed through, "I have something to say to you when I return." So when he returned from his audience in the midst of a great crowd he said to Shinzaemon, "It was determined that the great bell at my headquarters should give the signal for the gathering of the daimyō for the attack. But I thought to myself, 'Suppose some fool or some rebel should strike the bell to-night!' so I had the beam taken away and brought to my side. But then I thought 'the bell can still be struck by something else,' so I had it wholly taken down and wrapped in a bag. As it turned out the rebels began the fight unexpectedly, and there was not time to get off the bags and hang the bell; so we were obliged to fight and whip them without its aid. Then I remembered your words, 'Be not over careful,' and thought this an excellent illustration." Though it was said in jest, yet he had not forgotten the word. An ordinary man would have had no thought at such a time for this. But Idzu no Kami showed the greatness of his heart by telling his mistake before them

¹⁰ Amakusa,—the war against the Christians. Rein. p. 308.

all. That is true wisdom. But men who desire authority and outward ornament are indeed very low, like frogs in a well.

YASUTOKI'S UNSELFISHNESS.

From the beginning of the Kamakura regime Hōjō Yasutoki was the best of all the men of these times.¹¹ Few can be compared with him. He once said to Miao of Togano, "I am unequal to this great task of Government. How shall I cause strife to cease among the people?" Miao replied, "Be unselfish." "But," said Yasutoki, "will the people be unselfish too if I am so?" And the priest replied, "No matter about the people! Try it and see!" So Yasutoki believed him, and when his father Yoshitoki died, gave the inheritance to his younger brother and kept just enough for his needs. His mother remonstrated with him, saying, "You have not kept enough;" he replied, "I inherit the government. I have enough. I wish my brothers to be rich." She greatly admired him, and as time passed all of his relatives came to be on the best of terms and all Kamakura admiringly followed their example. Miao was a priest, but his words agree with the reply that Confucius made to Kikoshi,—“If you covet not they will steal though theft be praised.”¹² And the government of Yasutoki shows that the words of the Sage are true.

While Yasutoki was in power he went every day to the office and laboured hard all day. He had a patient regard for the chief officials and was wise and impartial in his judgments, as is related in the Adzuma Kagami. Long ago

¹¹ The Hōjō family succeeded Yoritomo as the real rulers of Japan. They were the Regents of Kamakura, ruling in the name of the "Puppet Shōgun" for 120 years. "Takatoki, the last of the line, became Regent at the age of nine." The Hōjō family was overthrown by Ashikaga Taka-uji and Nitta Yoshisada, A. D. 1334. Satow and Hawes's "Handbook," pp. 54-55.

¹² Kikoshi was troubled by the many thieves in his dominions. *Analysts XII: XVIII.*

an old scholar told me this story of him: One day when hearing a case, while accuser and accused were face to face, the accuser suddenly said, "I had thought my cause good and so entered complaint. Now I see my error and will not add a word." There he stopped and Yasutoki in great admiration said, "You are beaten in your case but you are victorious in reason. I have heard many cases, but never before have I seen a man thus yield to reason. If I do not reward you whom shall I reward?" So he gave him a very special reward.

So it was that quarrels gradually ceased and the judges had leisure. I have forgotten in what monogatari this is, but it illustrates Yasutoki's justice, benevolence and truth. His work benefited his son and extended to future generations as they imitated his virtue and accepted what he had accomplished. Thus it was that Kamakura won the affections of the people.

Men think Tokiyori wiser, but I do not agree. He soon gave up his high rank, became a priest, liked quiet walks and thus saw the condition of the people. That seems admirable to those who do not know reason. He should not have deserted his post for the sake of the quiet of a temple. A born ruler should not thus injure virtue and lose the Government. His plan was petty, and "dark at a distance." Neither he nor any other at Kamakura at all equalled Yasutoki. When the Hōjō rule began, many men of parts gathered at Kamakura, but they were men of mere strength and bravery, without knowledge or wisdom. Shigetada is preëminent among them, for when falsely accused he refused to take an oath, saying, "I have never lied, and why should I take an oath?" So Yoritomo forgave him, but he was killed by the Hōjō and died most purely. The crimes of Tokimasa and Yoshitoki were against both men and Heaven and death were an insufficient punishment. Were it not for Yasutoki the Hojo had been destroyed before the time of Takatoki.

VOLUME V. SINCERITY.

THE MOON THE MEMENTO OF THE GENERATIONS.

When the year was more than half gone and the autumn scenery was come, the cool wind piercing the body, after long absence the friends gathered again at the house of the Old Man. They made the customary inquiries and were taking leave when he stopped them saying,—“The moon is very fine to-night. Do not go. Stop awhile and have some wine.” So obediently they all sat down. And as the talk went on the people of the house set out food and wine, and the guests soon felt the influence of the wine and became interesting. One with his cup in his hand recited a verse of Rihaku¹ in praise of the moon, another capped it, and a third continued and a fourth, and last of all the Old Man ;—“The men of to-day see not the moon of long ago : The moon of to-day shines not upon the men of long ago : The men of to-day and the men of long ago, Are like the flowing water. All are alike as they see the moon, With verse and wine their one desire is that, The Moon shine long upon the metal cask ;” so he made an end of it. But the drinking went on, and as they drank still more until the mountains seemed to fall, the Old Man continued :

You all unite in praising the moon in verse and my heart is comforted as I see it. An emotion that ceases not arises, for the moon is the comfort of old age. I have many thoughts, and will give you one of them. When a child I was once sitting alone in the corner at the wine drinking on the fifteenth of the eighth month when a samurai, who was wholly illiterate, looked long at the moon and asked,—“How wide

¹ Rihaku, a famous poet of the Tō dynasty in China.

is it?" Then another like him said, "It is cut off from something. How deep is it?" All who heard it ate their tongues, and even as a child I thought it absurd. But really, are most men so different, as they praise the moon for its clear light and love its pure reflection and meet together to eat, drink and sing? And the poets ornament their verses as they see the moon and labour over their form, and yet after all, aesthetic as it all seems, they are merely amused with the appearance of the moon and know not its profound "feeling."

What I said of "the emotion that ceases not" refers to the love of the ancients, the study of their books as we know their hearts and the pain of separation from the world. It is the moon which lights generation after generation and now too shines in the sky. So may we call it the Memento of the Generations. As we look upon it and think of the things of old, we seem to see the reflection of the forms and faces of the past. Though the moon says not a word, yet it speaks. If we have forgotten, then it recalls the ages gone by. This verse of Rihaku is the best of all the poetry about the moon, for it lets the mere appearance go and unites past and present in one spirit, all "Are like the flowing water." Yet there is something wanting, for it does not speak of waiting for the coming age, and this is supplied in the ancient writing called So,—

"The men who are gone come not to me

The men of the future hear me not,"

and as I read it my admiration knows no bounds. For this is Kushi's² thought: "No one knows me, none of my own generation; and the men of the past who were one in heart with me, with whom I would speak, are beyond my reach; and the men of the coming age who will be of like

² Kushi, the author of the couplet, (Ku Yuan) was a minister who committed suicide, about B. C. 314. Mayers, p. 107.

spirit, hear me not and know me not." So is it with every one who has a heart: it is not Kushi only who thus laments. I too see the moon with such a spirit and mourn. The present is the past to the future, and in that age some one like me will grieve as he looks upon the moon.

TO FORSAKE THE WORLD BUT NOT ONE'S SELF.

When the celebrated priest Saigyō went on pilgrimage through the east he came to Kamakura and went with others to Tsurugaoka. There Yoritomo noticed the superiority of his company and called him to his house, asked him of horsemanship, archery and poetry. Without fear of the splendour of Yoritomo or of the presence of his famous followers, Saigyō freely uttered his opinions. Yoritomo greatly admired him, but was unable to detain him or give him anything except a silver cat, and this Saigyō threw to the children in the street as he went away. Nor was it known whither he went.

There was, at that time, a very bad priest at Takao named Bungaku. He was very proud of his power, which was given him at Kamakura, and he hated Saigyō's character and said, "If I meet him I'll insult him to his face." Once Saigyō came to Takao and Bungaku asked him to spend the night with him, full of joy at the opportunity. He said to his followers, "See! When he comes I'll strike him!" and waited with clenched fist. All were in troubled suspense, but when Saigyō came Bungaku's courage failed and he greeted him respectfully. So, afterwards, the followers said to Bungaku, "Why did you not strike Saigyō?" But Bungaku replied, "See the spirit of his face! He should strike me!" How apparent was Saigyō's high pure character and wonderful spirit! Our only grief is that Confucianism was not yet made known to the world and so even such a man knew not the truth. With a clear pure character, he disliked the ways of the world and became a priest. Truly that was lamentable!

To forsake parent and lord that one may save himself by becoming a priest is indeed to forsake the world; but instead of parent and lord it is not to forsake one's self. Unless we forsake our self we forsake not the world. The desire for fame and gain in the world, and the forsaking of the world in the hope of paradise, these differ as the pure and the impure, yet both alike are from the desire for one's own happiness. Buddhism regards our human relationships as "borrowed" and so teaches that parent and lord may be forsaken. Not so! If we are to desert anything, first cast away reputation, gain and pleasure! Then there will be no need to flee the world. But in the celebrated doctrine there is place for natural pleasure. It is not necessary to forsake the human relationships or anything. But to forsake these through the desire for paradise is a shameful exhibition of the craving for happiness.

There was once a woman who was ready to die of grief because of the death of her husband, and she refused to be comforted. But the priest reproved her: "You may well love your husband; Buddhism does not interfere with that, for it is most natural. But separated from him, with the marriage tie cut, in loneliness and for yourself to grieve, that is selfishness. It is a great increase of guilt. Consider this doctrine as you weep." So she repented and stopped her grief. It was wise advice, but the priest did not consider how it applied to himself. From of old all, high and low, men and women, who have clung to Buddhism have found the sole origin for faith in regard for their own happiness. Even the wise among them have not the wisdom of this woman. How have countless generations wasted their precious bodies! And the future too will show like waste! My grief I have put into this verse:

"For an hundred generations the universe flows on;
Literature and the 'Way' are now destroyed, Our
thoughts are sad; Who knows? Above the heavens just the
one round moon, Long shines upon the lasting grief of man.

The Way of truth is cast away! With whom then shall I speak? False principles and new heresies come forth day by day; The clear moon knows the grief of a thousand generations, And kindly shines upon the old white head."

The guests together repeated the verse, and just then the moon sank in the west and the morning broke; and all went home.

ECONOMY.

To the samurai first of all is righteousness, next life, then silver and gold. These last are of value, but some put them in the place of righteousness! But to the samurai even life is as dirt compared to righteousness.

Until the middle part of the middle ages customs were comparatively pure though not really righteous. Corruption has come only during this period of government by the samurai. A maid servant in China was made ill with astonishment and fled home in dismay when she saw her mistress, soroban in hand, arguing prices and values. So was it once with the samurai. They knew nothing of trade, were economical and content.

An old man told me this story of Hine Bichu no Kami. When he went to Korea he borrowed money for his expenses and on his return sent to return it. His creditor, Kuroda Josui, directed the servants to take off the flesh from some tai which had been sent in as a present and to make soup of the bones for his guests. As this severe economy was observed, the guests were filled with apprehension as to the probable demand for high interest on the loan. But after the wine when they offered to make payment Kuroda Josui would not take the principal. He was economical beyond expression, even with his fish that had been given him, even in the feasting of his friends, but did not hesitate to give an hundred silver pieces when his friend had need. That is an

admirable illustration of the character of the samurai of those days, simple and economical, yet unforgetful of righteousness and strong of heart.

Even in the days of my youth young folks never mentioned the price of any thing; and their faces reddened if the talk was of women. Their joy was in talk of battles and of plans for war. And they studied how parents and lords should be obeyed and the duty of samurai. But nowadays the young men talk of loss and gain, of dancing girls and harlots and gross pleasures. It is a complete change from the customs of fifty or sixty years ago. In those days I had a friend Kurando, whose father was a Kaga samurai named Aochi Unimi. Aochi said to his son, "There is such a thing as trade. See that you know nothing of it. In trade the profit should always be on the other side. It differs from 'go' in that if we win there is no peace in the victory." But now, men greatly rejoice if they make a profit by exchange. To be proud of buying high priced articles cheap is the good fortune of merchants, but should be unknown to samurai. Let it not be even so much as mentioned. I remember the remarks of Arai Chikugo no Kami some years ago:—Call no man stingy. If one is stingy of money still more will he be stingy of life. Stinginess is another name for cowardice." So he spoke as he expounded the books before the Shōgun. It is the truth. And samurai must have a care of their words and are not to speak of avarice, cowardice or lust.

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Nor must we waste our time. "Strength comes not twice. A day is not twice to-morrow. At the time for labour we must toil. Years and months wait not for man." Born with a love for learning, let us not think that the age is without virtue and the future without reputation, and that we perish as the trees and grass. Strive diligently every-day. There was a Kaga man who was fond of the aestheti-

cism of Rikiyu³ and practiced the tea ceremonies assiduously. When ordered to Edo he took his outfit with him and even in the inns hung up his kettle and made his tea. His associates remonstrated,—“Much as you like your tea, do take a vacation while en route.” But he replied,—“A day en route is no other; it too is one of the days of my life! So it is not a day for omitting my ceremonious tea.” He made no difference nor stopped a day.

So must scholars set their purpose on the “Way.” It is not to be forsaken at all, and there is in all the life no day that is not for its practice. Going or coming, there is no place without it. We should not be in haste, lest we soon give it up. Not in haste and not in sloth must we ever pursue the “Way.”

A WORD FOR THE OPENING YEAR. CONCLUSION.

Swiftly the days and months pass by. Day by day increases the disease, old age, and labour is of no avail. It is the seventy-fifth year, and not so long had the Old Man hoped to live with the billows of old age rolling on. He was paralyzed too, so that hand and foot were not easily moved and with difficulty could he get up or down. For three years the spring beauty of the garden had not been seen, but the voice of the uguisu from the tree-top came to his bed awakening him from his lingering dreams. Patiently did he remember the past as the perfume of the plum blossoms visited his pillow.

How blessed was he then that from his youth he had seen through the windows of philosophy the value of the passing years; that he had followed Tei-Shu and sought the manners of the Sages; that he had admired the literary style of Kantaishi and Oyōshu⁴ and had learned haltingly to walk the “Way.” What consolation was this for his aged

³ “The Chrysanthemum,” Vol., II., No. 5, pp. 198-200.

⁴ Oyōshu, Ou-Yang Siu, celebrated among the foremost scholars and statesmen of the Sung dynasty. d. 1017 A. D. Mayers, p. 165.

wakefulness! Through so many months and years well had he considered the passing, changing world, with its alternating adversity and prosperity, its bloom and decay. Are they all dreams and visions, "the clouds that float above the earth"? Fortune and misfortune are twisted together like the strands of a rope.

Among it all only the "Way" of the Sages stands with Heaven and Earth. Past and present it only changes not. Men should wonder at it and praise. But the world knows it not. Men are in darkness as to righteousness, though wise in gain and lust. The "Way" is forsaken and customs deteriorate. Alas! Alas! but my low rank and feeble powers could not reform the customs or restore the doctrine; as well might a gnat move a tree or one dip out the ocean with a shell. Yet is it our duty as scholars to grieve over the world and reform the people. We cannot give this task to others. Why should aged teachers and men who are accounted scholars desire false doctrines, mix them with the truth and thus transform the "Way" of righteousness and virtue?

I cannot agree to that. They work and argue, please the vulgar and go with the times. Deplorable! As has been said of old,—*"A corrupt learning that flatters the world."* Let it be so! Let customs change! I alone will follow the "way" of benevolence and righteousness nor lose the pattern I have learned! This is the sign of the scholar who honours the "Way." In the New Year when men bless themselves with good wishes for a thousand worlds, I will set my heart on the "Way" of the five virtues only and will change not. This I think the rightful cause for congratulations. So I write,—

This spring too I go unchanged

Five times more than seventy seeking the "Way."

This year I have been busy, from spring to autumn, collecting and writing my various talks with my disciples. I finished it in the autumn, and though it is as worthless as the refuse gathered by fishermen, yet if transmitted

to our company it may be one-ten-thousandth help to those who study themselves. So at the end I wrote my New Year's verse, ending yet beginning, and thus reveal an endless heart.

Kyō-hō Jin-shi no Toshi, Fuyu Jūgatsu (Winter, December 1729). (signed) Kyūsō.

NOTE ON JAPANESE SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY T. HAGA.

[Read 9th March, 1892.]

In the introduction to his paper, entitled *A Japanese Philosopher*, and read before the Society, January 20th, Dr. Knox states that with the exception of a small school which follows Ōyōmei, Japanese Philosophy is that of Shushi. The correctness of this view of the matter is quite inadmissible. Of the opponents of the Tei-Shu philosophy I will mention a few, just as they come to mind: Jinsai, Sorai, Tōgai, Shuntai, Kinjō, Riken, Nammei. I cannot remember them all. In the writings of these men he will find the fundamental ideas, *sei*, *jīn*, and *michi* (way), to be different from those held by Shushi.

Of the four writers selected by Dr. Knox as followers of the orthodox philosophy in this country, only the first and last can be said to belong to it, and of these the first is certainly not one of its best representatives. Hakuseki, like Kyusō, the subject of Dr. Knox's paper, was a pupil of Kinoshita Junnan, whose views, though they inclined him to the Teishu school, were still quite liberal and somewhat affected by the older learning, and Hakuseki became even more liberal than his master.

Yamazaki Ansai was indeed an 'orthodoxist,' narrow-minded and violent in his opposition to those who did not accept Shushi's doctrines.

The other two names in Dr. Knox's list, have just been mentioned by me as among the opponents of the 'orthodox' philosophy, and so far were they from adopting Shushi's views, that they became the founders of the *Kogaku* school, or school of Ancient Learning. Jinsai was the first who systematically opposed the teaching of the Teishu school. His followers, including his distinguished son, Tōgai, exercised great influence. Sorai came a little later, and was equally opposed to Shushi, whom he wrote against very strongly and described as being a Buddhist. He spoke of Shurenki, Teishi, Shushi, and others as founders of the *ri* school, *rigakusha*, and also referred to them as *Sō-ju* (*So* dynasty school men). His particular school surpassed that of Jinsai in the production of well-known men, Shuntai, Nankwaku, and many others.

It would be a task beyond my powers to discuss fully and clearly the philosophy of the Teishu, Ōyōmei, and other schools. Indeed, it seems impossible to find English words at all equivalent to many of those in use in Chinese and Japanese philosophy. A word which to some degree seems to suit in one case, is found to be wrong when fitted to another. I can therefore only attempt to indicate some of the radical differences between the Teishu and Kogaku Schools, the latter as represented by Jinsai and Sorai, although these two differ among themselves.

Throughout the philosophy of Shushi there are the conceptions *ri* and *ki*. They are themselves self-existences, and are concerned in the formation of all things and are present in all things. It may perhaps be nearly correct to say that *ri* is the source of law and order, and *ki* is the source of natural existence. *Ri* we are told is the perfection of Heaven. It is in inanimate things as well as in man, and pervades all space. *Ki*, from its twofold character, is also called *in-yo*, and from its fivefold character, *go-gyō*. The conception of *in* and *yo* is that of duality, involving complementary or equivalent opposition of parts of one thing. It

may be, and has been, compared with many states of such opposition between similars, and among others therefore, with opposition of sex, but this has been brought out more strongly in translations than it usually exists in the original. Association of *positive* and *negative* (*polarity*), as used so largely in certain sciences, is all that is meant by *in-yo*. As *go-gyō*, the five divisions of *ki* are manifested in the categories, *wood, fire, earth, metal, water*.

Animals and things get only portions of *ri*, but man receives *ri* in full amount, and this becomes in him, *sei*, his real nature. He has thus within him the perfect mirror of Heaven and perfect understanding. There is no difference in this respect between a *seijin* or a perfect man and an ordinary person. To both, *ri* is given uniformly. But *ki*, from which is derived his form and material existence, and which constitutes his *kishitsu*, is different in quality in different men, and is sometimes clear and sometimes dull. He has thus a certain capacity due to *ki* or *kishitsu*, such as being intelligent or stupid, weak or strong; this is called *kirin*. *Sei* or man's real nature, although originally *ri* itself when it comes to reside in man, that is, in his *kishitsu*, becomes affected or modified by his *kirin*, or capacity through *ki*. Thus a second nature is formed out of *ri* or the original *sei*, modified or affected by *kishitsu*, and this second nature is called *kishitsu no sei*. He has thus his second nature called *kishitsu no sei* through which he acts well or ill. When a man does evil, that is the result of his *kirin* covering or interfering with *sei*, his original nature, and this action of his *kirin* is called *kishitsu no hei* (cover) or *kirin no kaka-wari* (interference or hindrance by *kirin* with the original *sei*, *honnen no sei*, or *tenchi no sei*). By this interference of *kirin*, *sei* or the original nature of man becomes clouded, as a mirror. Remove this corruption (*kishitsu no hei*) and the *honnen no sei* recovers its brightness, and man is perfect and can understand all nature.

Thus it will be seen that although the Teishu school

divide *sei* into *kishitsu no sei* and *hannen no sei*, these are both originally from *ri*, and this division can not be logically maintained in detailed application.

In this school, *sei*, fundamental nature of man, is *ri* itself, and in it the *ri* of benevolence, righteousness, etc.,—*jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, are naturally found. *Ri*, *sei*, and *michi*, ('way') are the same entity in different aspects, and it is called *ri* when spoken of as the order or law which pervades the universe, and *michi* ('way') when looked on as what man and all things must pursue. *Jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi* are natural functions or parts of *sei*. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety of conduct, understanding, are not themselves *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, but the *ri* underlying them. When benevolence is felt, that is what is called *yo*, the application of *jin*; while something prior to this feeling, when there is nothing yet felt, is called *tai*, the substance of *jin*. This is already natural to *sei*. Benevolence manifested in action is called the *hodokoshi* of *jin*.

Notwithstanding the distinctness marked out between *sei* (*ri*) and *ki*, the Teishu school make use, when explaining the *Ancient Classics*, of the term *kishitsu no sei* for the nature of man, *sei*, as affected by *ki*; and have then to use the phrase, *hannen no sei*, to express the pure fundamental nature of man. Again, we are told we cannot rightly discuss the *sei* of man without reference to the *ki*, nor the *ki* of man without reference to the *sei*. Now let us see how Jinsai handles these points.

Jinsai and his school say with the ancient writers that *ki* constitutes all things, somewhat in the same way that in Western philosophy matter is said to constitute all (material) things. But they deny that there is anything, any self-existence or entity, such as the *sei* of the Teishu school. All that led Shushi to invent the notion of the existence of *sei* is nothing but the manifested nature of things, their dispositions, powers, qualities, actions, and all that go to constitute their existence. Jinsai makes use of the term

ri, but only with its common signification of reason. The *sei* or fundamental nature of man does not differ much from that of animals, and only in possessing the germ of goodness along with healthy tendencies or impulses. With Jinsai, *sei* being merely a name for man's nature, *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, become merely names for the several phases of conduct based on the possession of a good disposition—not for something self-existent, and already present before the mind feels its bent. When Mencius said man's fundamental nature (*sei*) is good, he meant no more than that it is his nature to be well-disposed. Without training men do good deeds through natural disposition, but unless cultivated and developed this disposition is overcome by evil passions and bad surroundings. It is in the nature of an infant to love its parents. Without premeditation, and from good disposition only, a man hastens to the rescue of a child that has fallen into a well. That is to say, he does so because it is his nature to do so, not because of the presence in him of something Shushi calls *ri*. Such a disposition, attended to, becomes universal benevolence or love, *jin*. Shame of one's self in wrong doing, and condemnation of it in others are the outcome of an instinct for righteousness, a disposition to righteousness, which duly cultivated becomes the conduct, *gi*. The faculty of discriminating between right and wrong is the instinct which urges to wisdom.

Jinsai finds strange confusion in Shushi's distinction between *kishitsu no sei* and *honnen no sei* when applied to the ancient classics, because in his version of the meaning of these writings he gives to *sei* one or the other of these significations, just as it suits his own views, and not because of anything to be found in the classics themselves.

Men of the Jinsai school argue: if merely by repressing *ki'ri'n* man becomes perfect, this should lead him to do nothing but contemplate *ri*, be composed, and meditate, as is taught so greatly by the Teishu school to be the means of restoring the original *sei*. If the mere removal of passion from the

heart be enough, why did not the *seijins* give up all their endeavours to teach the world the way, instead of only counselling men to resist their passions? If a man can become perfect by such means, why have there been so few perfect men? Effort in this direction is vain; we must try day by day so to act that the mind gets so accustomed to do right that no evil can affect it. When we have trained ourselves to do no wrong, even to gain the whole world, then only can we be fairly said to be perfect men. Not contemplation, but action is the way. The way is by cultivating and encouraging and extending the natural good tendencies.

But should every man do only that which seems right to him, great mistakes might be committed. Hence, in order to lead men to perfection, the *seijins* have, in the classics, pointed out the way—pointed it out, not invented it—which is to follow man's natural and uncorrupted disposition. Thus the 'way' which in the Teishu philosophy is *ri*, is a reality of man's life, and not some silent imperceptible existence independent of his actions, and outside his consciousness. To consider *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, as each a form of *ri*, is like saying that the fire is in the flint and steel, or the sound in the bell.

Although to a certain extent there are a few men naturally wise, and a few hopelessly foolish, the perfect man differs from the ordinary man not so much by nature, as through habit and discipline of mind.

To Shushi's doctrine that *jin* is the *ri* of love, existent before it is felt, the *yo* so soon as it is felt, and the *hōdokoshi*, when it is manifested by action, Jinsai objects that it is dividing *jin* into three stages and giving the essential part of it, the real action, only the third place. *Jin* lies in the action itself.

Go-gyō is merely the invention of Tōchūjo and Yōyū, two philosophers of the Kan dynasty.

Man by nature has desire for many things, and while

regulated and moderated there is no evil in it. Good and evil are only relative, and are not of different origin. If it is the case that the good in man comes of *sei*, and the evil of *kishitsu*, what is the reason that *kishitsu* is bad? It must be from *ri* (reason) and therefore we are to conclude that *ri* is also evil! That the natural tendency is good is only a general statement of the fact that the great majority of men are good, or possessed of a good disposition.

From the above summary it will be seen how Jinsai attacks Shushi at many points essential in his philosophy. Naturally, there must be agreement between them on some points.

Sorai teaches that man is bound to follow Heavens' way. Every man, however mean, has some function to perform in the world (*ten shoku*) appointed by Heaven, and it is his destiny to fulfil it, but it is not the lot of the multitude to know Heaven's way by themselves. Only a small number of wise men can know that, and then only through the *seijins* or classics. The multitude is simply to follow the *seijins*, teachings. It is not taught or expected that every man should become a *seijin*. Some are only fitted to be common people and do common work as their duty. It will be seen therefore that the teaching of Sorai is more of the nature of a religion than of a philosophy.

With Sorai and his followers the discussion of *sei* is quite a secondary matter, although Sorai holds that man has no more tendency to good or to follow the way than has a piece of wood to make or be made into a box or a house. The joiner or carpenter can use wood for his purpose, because its nature fits it to be made into a box or a house. But it is not the nature of wood to be a box or a house. The leading idea in Sorai's philosophy is that man being a social being, and unable to live isolated, the true way must lie not only in training the individual mind and body in the virtue of *jin*, but must also include the way to promote the welfare and order of the world. Hence his 'way' includes the different

institutions organised by the ancient *seijins*, *Gyō*, *Shun*, *U*, *Tō*, *Bnnnō*, *Buwō*, *Shukō*, and *Kōshi*, who were appointed by Heaven, to show the world Heaven's way. These institutions are *rei* (rules of social conduct) and *gaku* (music), and serve to keep people, unconsciously and without suffering, in the right way. Next to *rei* and *gaku* come *kei* (justice and law) and *sei* (government), and by these means people are kept in purity of thought and habit, so that slowly and without being conscious of it they act all according to the 'way', and finally evil thoughts can not affect them. *Jin* is indeed the greatest and most important virtue, but it is only one out of many, and is not the spring of all other virtues as taught in the Teishu school. Nor is it the whole of the way. *Ri* is used only in the ordinary sense of reason. Sorai does not deny that there may be something like *ri*, but if there is, it is altogether arbitrary, and since everybody understands *ri* and 'way' from his own point of view, it can be of no value or significance. He does not believe in *go-gyō* although he believes in *in-yō*. It is vain to try to discipline the mind, he says, by contemplation. To try to discipline the mind by one's own mind is like a mad man trying to cure himself of insanity. Discipline from without is the supreme thing, and evil thoughts when not acted upon do not call for condemnation.

Sorai liked to write in the peculiar antiquated style called *Kobunji*, introduced by Rihanryō or Riurin, a scholar of the Ming dynasty, and to believe that by this means he could understand the true signification of the ancient writings; and believed that then, inspired by Heaven, he could make out the simple and original sense of these writings. His "*Gakusoku*," or rules of teaching in his school, was written in this antiquated style. He considered that China was the only enlightened country and the only one producing *seijins*, his own countrymen he regarded as little better than barbarians.

He thinks that the saying of Mencius that *sei*, man's

fundamental nature, is good, and that of Shishi, Confucius's grandson, that *sei*, man's fundamental nature is to be followed, were written merely to protect Confucianism from the attacks of such contemporary writers as Rōshi (Laotse), who declared that *seijins* are unnatural beings and their 'way' unnatural. These words were written in controversy, and are not to be taken as among the normal expositions of the *seijins*.

He criticises Shushi for making the way nothing but speculative philosophy. He agrees with Jinsai in doing away with the metaphysical entities (*ri*, *sei*, etc.), but considers him wrong in limiting the 'way' to *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, and *kō* (filial love), *tei* (brotherly love), and in not going beyond the personal virtues. He attacks Jinsai for having taken Confucius apart from the more ancient *seijins*, and for having made his tenets to be merely the working out of the personal virtues, since, according to his own view, Confucius is the exponent of the way of Sennō (ancient kings, such as Gyō, Shun, etc.) To him, Shōsho or Shokyō (collection of records and teachings of the ancient *seijins*), and Shi or Shikyō (a collection of ancient poems) are of the utmost importance, although he considers Shikyō as only a literary work, while Shushi treats it as an instrument for teaching morality. In Sorai's view, the 'way' of the *seijins* is not itself difficult for ordinary people, but becomes so difficult by the introduction of discussions about *sei*, and the substance and application of *jin*, etc., that all the world gets in despair of doing good at all. He thinks the idea of modifying one's *kishitsu* to be an invention of the Teishu school, and does not believe in *ri* as existing in man's nature.

Jinsai and Sorai are classed together as followers of the ancient learning, and they agree in their opposition to the Teishu school, but it will be seen that they also differ among themselves in minor points.

Briefly told, the position of Japanese philosophy is about this. The Teishu school gained influence from the beginning

of the Tokugawa rule. Iyeyasu and his successors were strong supporters of the Teishu school. But with the rise of the *Kogaku* school, scholars began to doubt the truth of the teachings of Teishu. Although not publicly declared so, in the minds of many, Shushi-ism became a separate doctrine from the tenets of Confucius, and many attempts were made to get at the truth directly from the Classics. If the writings of scholars generally classed among the orthodox school be carefully examined, the number of those who accept Shushi in all things will be found to be much less than appears at first sight. Those who did not accept all the doctrines of Shushi, but freely took from any school, were popularly called the *Sechūgaku* thinkers. As of this school, the names of Nakai Riken and Ōta Kinjō may be mentioned. Some few followed what is called the *Kōshōgaku* (critical learning), but this school was very insignificant, and cannot compare with the critical school of the Chinese scholars under the present Manchurian dynasty. In reality, *Kōshōgaku* is a method rather than a philosophy. The rise of the heterodox school alarmed the Tokugawa Government, to which the Teishu school, as that to which Iyeyasu belonged, stood somewhat in the position of an Established Church. Matsudaira Raku-ō, the Daimyō of Shirakawa, who became First Minister, was strongly inclined to 'orthodoxy,' and he promoted Shiba Ritsuzan, Koga Seiri, and others, to the post of 'Scholar' to the Shōgun, and opened courses of lectures at Seidō in Tōkyō to the public, at the same time prohibiting as heresy all other learning except that of Shushi. This political interference had some effect. Sato Issai, Yoshino Kinryō, Shionoya Tōin, etc., succeeded, and had many followers, but the heterodox school continued also to produce many distinguished men. Scattered over the country, some in the employ of daimyōs, many orthodox and also heterodox scholars drew students from all parts of the land, and were slowly influencing the minds of those of the Chinese school. Among many teachers who lived to the end of the Tokugawa

period, Yasui Sokken is well known. He is one of the followers of the old learning. Yamada Hōkoku, whom I have mentioned as remembered by me as heterodox among many others, leant much to Ōyōmei. He also lived to see the fall of the Tokugawa government. Whatever may have been the influence of Shushi's teachings, it is noteworthy to see that nearly all the followers of the Chinese philosophy now living or recently so, when they have freely spoken out their belief, have proved to belong to the mixed school, somewhat influenced by the writings of the Chinese writers of the Manchurian dynasty. Few only seem still to believe in Shushi's exposition of *sei* and *ri*, at least in their full sense, especially in the doctrines of two classes of *sei*, namely *honnen no sei* and *kishitsu no sei*.

In confirmation of what I have said, I would here refer readers of Japanese to different published lectures at the Shibungakukwai, the earlier parts.

Something similar has happened in China. Since the time of Shushi down to the latter part of the Ming dynasty, practically no deviation from Shushi was made. But from the latter part of the Ming dynasty scholars began to think that the Teishu philosophy is too narrow to hold all the truth. From the beginning of the present Manchurian dynasty many scholars attempted to study the Classics directly from the originals. As the result of this there arose a Kogaku school, something like that of Jinsai and Sorai, but, naturally, different in many points ; and also a Critical school, members of which have shown much skill and ability.

As Shushi has been named a historian by Dr. Knox, it may be of interest to notice the part he played in this line. He did not write history, but took *Tsugan*, a history by Shiba Onkō, and altered it to suit a conventional system, in which what is considered righteous is praised, what is wrong is made to be punished. By changing the text, the usurper is deposed or subordinated, and he who is considered to have been the rightful heir is made to occupy his place, although

as a matter of fact, the greater part of the country shall have been under the rule of this usurper,—and so forth. This was considered to be an imitation of Confucius's *Shunjū* (a kind of chronicle), the traditional method of interpretation of which was that every word implied punishment of wrong and upholding of right; a theoretical exposition since abandoned by some scholars, including the distinguished Chinese Emperor, Kōkitei or Seiso, the founder of the present Manchurian dynasty, although he was nominally a follower of Shushi. (For the way this emperor makes Shushi's words suit his own views; see the preface by him to *Shunjūdensetsu-isan*, an exposition of *Shunjū* written by many scholars under his direction.)

The traditional exposition of *Shunjū* so thoroughly filled the minds of scholars that not only Chinese but Japanese history also, especially that written by the Chinese school, came to have for its object not the studying the connections between events so much as the inculcation of morality. Hence those who were considered to be righteous were always made to be so, as far as possible, to show to the world as examples, and all notice of their minor irregularities of conduct was suppressed wherever it could be done. Conversely, those who were considered to be wrong were made out to be always wrong, to serve as a warning to the world, all the good done by them being treated as not sufficient to cover one action unpardonably wrong when judged by a certain standard. Histories thus framed contain usually, at convenient periods, short discussions and judgments (by the author) of the conduct of the persons described in the narrative. This is in imitation of the method of Chinese historians. Histories written during the Tokugawa rule, that is during the ascendancy of the Shushi school, are mostly of this description. Among them *Dainihonshi*, *Nihongwaishi*, etc, may be mentioned as being best known. They were written by scholars of the Chinese school, and in the Chinese language.

Whatever may be the value of histories thus constructed

by scholars of the Chinese school, their political importance at the time was very great. Shushi's modification of *Tsugan*, called *Tsugan Kōmoku*, was looked upon as a continuation of *Shunjū*, and its spirit penetrated deeply into the minds of scholars. The *Dainihonshi* was written by Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the Daimyō of Mito, in a different fashion from that of *Tsugan Kōmoku*, yet in the same spirit, and it thus occupied, to some extent, the place which *Tsugan-Kōmoku* takes in China. This and works like it were very much valued and read, and from principles therein inculcated, scholars gradually began to recognise that the rightful sovereign of the country dwelt in Kyōto. At the same time the Shintō school, represented by Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane, brought forward the history of the ancient Imperial rule, and indirectly the rights of the Court at Kyōto. Strong protests were made against calling China, *Chū-kwa*, the centre of civilisation, and other current notions pronounced absurd, and these found willing hearers among the educated class. In loyalty to the rightful sovereign the two rival schools, the Shintō and the Chinese, became completely united. Thus gradually the Chinese philosophy breathed in the spirit of the teachings of Shintō, and became thoroughly national. Loyalty took the place of filial duty in Chinese teaching; and to serve the cause of the Emperor became the most essential duty for those with cultivated minds. Some became avowed supporters of the Kyōto court, and were known as *Kinnō-ka*.

The followers of Shushi more readily than others adopted the Shintō teaching. Thus Yamazaki Ansai, an earnest disciple of Shushi, believed in Shintō teaching in his later years in spite of the remonstrances of Asami Kaisai and others of his pupils. One of the earnest advocates of the cause of Kyōto, persecuted by the Tokugawa Government, was Takeno-uchi Shikibu, who was a follower of Ansai. Yamagata Daini, and Fujii Umon, who were killed by the Tokugawa authorities, were also much affected by the Chinese

learning. Their successors, Takayama Hikokurō and Gamō Kumpei, also felt strongly the Chinese influence; indeed Gamō wrote books in Chinese. Matsudaira Sadanobu (or Raku-ō), a supporter of the Teishu school, while he prohibited other schools, yet encouraged the Shintō learning and was quite dutiful to Kyōto. In this way the Shintō and Chinese teachings became amalgamated in a common cause. This union of Chinese philosophy with Shintō teaching was still more successfully carried out by the scholars of the Mito clan, as represented by Tokugawa Nariaki (or Rekkō), the Daimyō of Mito and a descendant of Mitsukuni the historian, and by Fujita Tōko, Aizawa Kōzo, and others, *samurai* of the Mito clan. They wrote in Chinese in spite of their being exceedingly national and patriotic, and their philosophy was essentially that of Shushi. These upheld as much as any one the rights of the Imperial court, and encouraged loyalty to it. For some time before the restoration of the Imperial Government these scholars exercised great influence on the minds of the *samurai*, and indirectly did much to bring about the revolution. For many of those who played an important part in it had been, in one way or another, under the influence of their teachings. It will thus be seen that the whole movement of the Kinnō-ka derived much of its impetus from the then accepted exposition of *Shunjā*, and from Shushi's *Tsugan Kōmoku*. It certainly is strange to see the Tokugawa rule much shaken, if not actually overthrown, by that doctrine, which generations of able Shōguns and their ministers had earnestly encouraged and protected. It is perhaps still more remarkable to see the Mito clan, under many able and active chiefs, become the centre of the Kinnō movement, which was to result in the overthrow of the Tokugawa family, of which it was itself a branch.

A COMMENT UPON SHUSHI'S PHILOSOPHY.

BY GEORGE WM. KNOX, D.D.

[Read 9th March, 1892.]

The association of Jinsai and Sorai with the orthodox philosophers in the introduction to my translation of the Shundai-Zatsuwa has called forth Mr. Haga's interesting "Note" giving details of the Kogaku school. Kyusō repeatedly refers to this school but always with sharp criticism and reproof,¹ and the "Note" will enable the reader to test the fairness of his polemic.

As Mr. Haga touches upon some of the fundamental positions of the Tei-Shu philosophy, it has seemed worth while to set forth Shushi's own teaching in a brief resumé. The quotations in this "Comment" are from the forty-ninth section of Shushi's complete works.

Ri is law conceived as an entity. It somewhat resembles the Platonic ideas. By it all things have their ideal nature. It is above all form² and of itself is neither motion nor rest.³ It has motion and rest, for while motion and rest are ki, their law is ri.⁴ Essentially ri is benevolence and righteousness and is wholly pure and good.⁵

5 4 3 2

1 Pp. 45-49 above.

蓋氣是之靜則動理言也太有性必也之也之氣天
 理乎靜仁乎氣靜有也極形必累是器氣道地
 則此便且何若動靜有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 純又是有目而無故靜有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 粹何動義前動氣有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 至關於便論動靜有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 善

a time when these opposites were not.¹⁸ The cosmic processes are condensation and dispersion.¹⁹ *Ri* forms nothing, *ki* forms and makes; and wherever *ki* condenses there is *ri* in its midst.²⁰ The *kosmos* was formed by the action of the *In* and *Yö*; the impure sediment settling and forming the Earth, the lighter part forming the Heavens.²¹ The opposites grinding together, as the grain is scattered from a mill, so are all things formed; there is both the fine and the coarse, and the former constitutes all that is worthy and noble, the latter all that is evil and ignoble.²² Earth is thus *ki*, so are trees, stones and man's body. Heaven is also *ki*, as are likewise sun, stars, wind, thunder, lightning, man's soul and mind.²³ *Ki* in fact is everything except the incorporeal and ethical *ri*. In calling Shushi a dualist, then, it must be remembered that motion and rest, matter and force, matter and mind are still all of one, and this one is *ki*. His dualism arises from the reification of *ri*.

The universe is not created, but is an eternal process. The passages in the Classics which seem to ascribe creation and providence to Heaven are explained away. Heaven itself is a part of the unending process that comprehends the all. It is generated like all the rest.²⁴ Ideally it is

24	23	22	21	20	19	18
之雄後有也神性	粗無達生其畫	在爲在多氣天	便無蓋	見橫	然	
生壤此此故魂只	有己只人四夜	中星中注運地	在計氣	得渠	動	
無其理理	細只管物邊運	夾辰夾淳磨初	其度則	陰言	靜	
所生有後	如管層之散而	不只氣藏米間	中無能	陽陰	無	
付皆安方	人層々萬出無	動在之面磨只	達疑	之聚	端	
受是頓有散有可	物々散珠紛息	不外消無去是	作結	情之	陰	
耶如處此則覺以	有生出如擾便	是常有處磨陰	只達	陽	陽	
此大氣	偏出天麵者是	在周便出得陽	此作	必無	始	
又而既	有人地磨便陰	下環爲便急之	氣理	散		
何天有	正物之相是陽	運天結了氣	凝却	之一		
處地此	其氣似游之	轉爲成便道	聚無	役		
天細氣	中運其氣兩	地日個磨一	處情	却		
地而然	有轉四以端	便月地許個	理意			

ri, as are all other things by nature. Psychologically and physically it is ki. When the Classics say that Jōtei does this and that: that Heaven bestows, appoints, protects, generates, etc., Shushi explains, that the meaning is merely that the ri is thus and so.²⁵ At the same time Heaven is not a dead thing. Shushi is not a materialist in the modern sense. Whatever belongs to man's nature belongs in higher degree to Heaven. When man, e.g., is righteous, Heaven responds. All the universe is to Shushi instinct with life, and he identifies the all with the operations of man's mind rather than with matter. But in fact the distinction of spirit and matter is not his. He moves in a different intellectual sphere. (See "Ki, Ri and Ten" below).

Shushi thought it the distinguishing merit of the preceding philosophers of the Sō (Sung) dynasty that they cleared up the greatest difficulty in the Classics, viz. the ascription of goodness to man's nature notwithstanding his present sinfulness. The Sages left this unexplained but the scholars of the Sō dynasty ascribed the perfect goodness to the ideal ri and the origin of evil to the imperfect receptivity of portions of the ki, and thus presented a theory which so far forth was intelligible and consistent. Its refutation needs more potent arguments than the Kogaku school appear to possess. For Jinsai says: "If it is the case that the good in man comes of sei (ri) and the evil of ki-shitsu, what is the reason that ki-shitsu is bad? It

問上帝降衷於民，天將
降大任於人，天祐民，作
之君，天生物，因其才而
篤，作善降百祥，作不善
降百殃，天將降非常之
禍於此世，必預出非常
之人以擬之，凡此等類
是蒼々在上者，真有主
宰如是耶，抑天無心，只
是推原其理如此，曰，此
三段，只一意，達箇也只
是理如此。

must be from ri, and therefore we must conclude that ri is also evil." This conclusion would follow were ri the source of ki, and were ki essentially evil, but neither position is in accordance with Shushi's teaching.

He thus explains the origin of evil:—Ri is the law of all the virtues, the essence of benevolence and righteousness. Wherever ki forms there ri rests in its midst. But ki exists in two forms, as we have seen, and from these all things are developed with the distinction of fine and coarse. Certain portions and forms of ki are perfectly recipient of ri and there is virtue and goodness. Other portions and forms of ki imperfectly receive ri and there is sin and evil.²⁶ Ri is not evil, for where it is in its perfection is goodness and virtue; its obscuration alone is evil. Nor is ki essentially evil, though it may obscure the ri as the morning mist obscures the sun. Ri is changeless and it is of ri that the superior man writes when he calls man's nature "good." Ki is changeful and it is not fitting that he should write of it.²⁷ As ki ever changes ri cannot be always evenly received. Evil is thus of necessity, as always in pantheistic systems.²⁸ Ki exists everywhere and always in its two-fold form, so that In and Yō, motion and rest, the fine and the coarse, being associated together, there is only a question of preponderance.²⁹ In the meanest man good is not wholly absent, and in the best man an element of evil

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欲求逃正	氣可鷄突之等不及看	其故	相偏氣通成不同則而論
一網至策	所道集更理語可惡遺	非君	隔氣之塞異齊也氣氣萬
之細聚云	生不報以一及以亦書	常子	之偏言理氣猶異物
不相散陰	否是竭事驚易濁不中	道	塞者然固之之相觀之
能絳相陽	天惡實即偏者可善	其	者便氣不異異近萬一
蓋相盪之	地擊致此陽不不惡	常	便只累可者者而物原
謂兼分氣	陰毒之義無謂謂皆	而	自得既以偏純理之則
是相降循	陽藥只可之之天	不	與理殊偏全聯絕異理
也制相環	之還如推盡水性理	道	理之則正之不體同

remains. Only the ideal ri is perfectly good.⁸⁰ And as condensation continues the "Way" (ri) disappears from among men; the world returns to chaos, and the process begins again.⁸¹

Jinsai and Sorai charge the Tei-shu school with making the "Way" nothing but speculative philosophy, and the contemplation of ri. This is so far true that philosophical knowledge is represented as essential to virtue, in agreement with Plato. But it is not taught that knowledge terminates in itself. It leads to action and its end is a virtuous life.⁸²

As *natura naturans* and *natura naturata* are both ki; as ki is both matter and force, both soul and body; as by its varying degrees of condensation there may be ki within ki and ki visible and invisible, Shushi's own language is not always clear and there is room for differing interpretations. However, the theory is fairly consistent, though, as in all the philosophy of the Far East, clear definition is wanting. It may be questioned whether Shushi was always clear as to his own meaning. Ri is more difficult of explanation than ki, for it never condenses nor changes. It is forever one and yet each particular thing has its own. When the difficulty is forced upon him Shushi takes refuge in illustration and says:—As the moon is one and yet is seen in every stream, so is the ri; an illustration which shows how far he was from solving his problem.

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起	一	極	會	又	言	得	亦	獨	之	善	固	靜	異	相	陰
一	番	了	壤	問	矣	以	欲	有	象	惡	並	無	乎	無	陽
人	人	便	只	天		不	去	善	而	之	立	端	此	其	之
物	物	一	是	地		能	惡	而	言	分	而	陰	茲	寓	氣
都	都	齊	相	會		相	而	無	則	也	無	陽	以	善	相
盡	盡	打	將	壤		無	全	惡	人	若	先	無	氣	惡	勝
又	又	合	人	否		者	善	其	之	以	後	始	言	之	而
重	重	混	無	曰		而	不	為	性	善	之	其	則	象	不
新	新	沌	道	不		為	復	舉	本	惡	序	本	動	則	能

The Kogaku school is right in its criticism of the quotation of the Classics in support of the Tei-Shu ontology. Kyusō praises the philosophers of the Sō dynasty for discovering that which was not taught by the Sages, but still cannot resist the temptation to quote Classical authority for the discomfiture of his opponents. His success is perhaps equal to that of most men who quote ancient proof texts in support of modern theory.⁸³

The polemic of the Kogaku school in general furnishes another illustration of the ordinary method of philosophical controversy in the past in the Far East. The *Okina Mondō*, the *Heki-ja-sho-gen* and Kyusō's writings, offer further illustrations. On the whole they justify Faber's severe comment on Shushi's own criticism of Buddhism and Taoism:—"But the polemics seldom or never enter thoroughly into the doctrines which are really brought forward by their opponents, but instead, they caricature them so that their monstrosity is easily proved. In this way Mencius treated Meti, and it seems as if this method is especially adapted to the Chinese mind."⁸⁴

The Kogaku school succeeded in shaking the faith of many in the Tei-Shu doctrine, but did not substitute any clear and defined system in its place. As constructive philosophers they do not appear worthy of a place with Shushi and Ōyōmei. The judgment of the orthodox scholars upon their teaching was perhaps not wholly undeserved.

In conclusion it may be noted that the Tei-Shu philosophy still retains sufficient vitality in Japan to lead Dr. Inoue Tetsujiro, Professor of Philosophy in the Imperial University, in the current number of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society, to devote an article to the exposure of the absurdities of its teaching as to Natural Philosophy.

⁸³ Pp. 47-49 above.

⁸⁴ The Doctrines of Confucius, p. 33.

REMARK BY PROFESSOR INOUE.

Dr. Inoue, Professor of Philosophy in the Imperial University, expressed himself as much gratified with the exposition of Japanese philosophy given by Mr. Haga and offered the following criticisms. Mr. Haga had mentioned the names of most of the Japanese philosophers who dissented from the Tei-Shu school, but he had forgotten to add a very famous writer, Kaibara Yekken (貝原益軒) who was the contemporary of Jinsai and Sorai. Among the numerous books written by Yekken, there is only one which claims especial attention from a philosophical point of view: his *Taigiroku* (大疑錄), which means "Great Doubt," so called because he explains in the book why he doubts the philosophical doctrine of Tei-Shu. In one place Yekken says: "*Ri* and *ki* are surely one thing, but Shushi takes them for two different things. I am therefore embarrassed, and I cannot follow him." Yekken was without doubt a monist, because he thought that *ki* alone is the fundamental principle of the world. But he had adopted his main idea from a celebrated Chinese writer, Rasei-an (羅整庵), in the Ming dynasty.

On the other hand Mr. Haga, he thought, might well omit some writers, for example Shiwonoya and Yasui, who had done nothing in the sphere of philosophy.

Moreover it would have been advisable to trace the connexion between the Japanese philosophers, whom he mentioned, and the Chinese philosophers from whom they borrowed their fundamental ideas. Most of the Japanese

philosophers had adopted the views of some Chinese philosopher or other. Jinsai, for example, got some of his philosophical principles from Goteikan (吳廷翰) in the Ming-dynasty, who wrote a book entitled *Kissai-manroku* (吉齋漫錄). Sorai got his principal idea from Junshi. Junshi considers human nature as originally bad, and Sorai adopts this view implicitly, although he does not express it openly. Junshi considers rei (ceremony) as highly important, and rei has almost the same position as moral order in his philosophy. The views of Sorai approach very near to this, because he thinks that rei (ceremony) and gaku (music) are the moral principles of the sages. Sorai has also adopted some views of the savant Yōshōan (楊升庵). In the case of Ōshio it would also be better to show in what points he is indebted to the philosophy of Ōyōmei, and whether or not any of his views at all were his own.*

Dr. Inoue thought that Dr. Knox had shown a surprising acquaintance with Chinese and Japanese philosophy. He agreed with Dr. Knox that Shushi had never believed in anything like a Creator in the same sense as Europeans generally understand the term. The philosophy of Shushi was on the whole materialistic. The ri of Shushi just referred to could be held, he thought, as the reality in opposition to ki, just as the "thing-in-itself" of Kant, although ki is not the manifestation of the ri.

As regards the periodical change of the world, Shōkōsetsu (邵康節) in the Sung dynasty had maintained that the world must undergo a radical change in every 129,600 years and become chaos once more, but after the same length of time it would be set in order again, so that the world would change in an eternal round like day and night.

The *Mukyoku* mentioned by Dr. Knox comes first in the *Tao-te-king* of Laotz. In the well known letter of Rikushōzan to Shushi we find that this point is well noticed.

* Ōshio Introduction, note 35, above.

KI, RI AND TEN.

BY GEORGE WM. KNOX, D.D.

[*Read 9th March, 1892.*]

The Japanese view of the Chinese philosophy is well represented by Ōhashi Junzō and Kaibara Yekken. The first is a fervid upholder of the Tei-Shu orthodoxy, and the second a modest and moderate critic of that system. In the following extracts from their writings passages have been combined and condensed that the essential points may be presented compactly.

Ōhashi Junzō was born near Utsunomiya, of a family which had lost its position and property. His fondness for books attracted the attention of a merchant of Utsunomiya, Kikuchi of the Sanoya, who adopted him, educated him and gave him his daughter in marriage. Junzō studied at the Confucian college, the Seido, in Edo, and after completing his studies opened a school in the suburb called Kō-m'me mura, beyond Mukojima.

He lived in the times when the old was giving place to the new, and strenuously opposed the opening of Japan to foreign ideas and civilisation. To his earnest conservatism the foundations of good government, of morals and of society seemed to be threatened; and yet the scholars who had been his teachers were among the advocates of the new policy.

The *Heki-ja-sho-gen* was published Jan. 26th, 1857. It is an impassioned attack upon the sympathizers with the West from the position of implicit faith in the Tei-Shu philosophy.

Junzō, at one time, had been a follower of Ōyōmei but finally rejected that system. The Tei-Shu ontology expressed the absolute truth to his mind, and though all others should forbear he was moved to speak his message. He felt himself to be a witness for truth and righteousness, and, wholly in the spirit of the doctrine he professed, sealed his faith with a martyr's suffering and death.

Junzō was imprisoned in February, 1862, because of his opposition to the marriage of the younger sister of the Emperor to the Shōgun (December, 1861). The attack on Ando Tsushima no Kami was in February, 1862, and Junzō's students were implicated. Junzō himself was charged with instigating it and was repeatedly examined by torture. He maintained his innocence, however, and was released from prison, August 2, 1862. Exhausted by his sufferings he died five days after his release.

His prophecies have been in part fulfilled, even in his own family. His two grand-daughters, by adoption, are students in a prominent school in Tōkyō, and with the physics and astronomy of the West have accepted its religion.

The following description of Ki, Ri and Ten is taken from the second volume of the *Heki-ja-sho-gen*.

THE WEST KNOWS NOT NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

In the thought of the Sages nothing is before Natural Philosophy or more important. The term occurs first in the Book of Changes, and the subject is treated in all the Classics under various names. He who would know the truth of Heaven and man without its aid, is like a boat without a rudder: his labour is all in vain. After Mencius, however, scholars knew the mere words and outer form of the doctrine, and failed to grasp the underlying truth until the philosophers of the Sō dynasty, who first comprehended the Sages and

showed that knowledge has its root in natural philosophy, and action its root in reverence. Should Sages again appear they would not oppose this exposition.

Ri is in the spirit and form but is not ruled by them ; on the contrary they are ruled by ri. This teaching is so difficult that some great men like Rikūsōsan and Ōyōmei have failed to understand it and have fallen into heresy. How impossible is it then that ignorant and purposeless men should comprehend ?

Followers of the western learning steal this illustrious name and call themselves natural philosophers, shamelessly saying that the West knows the law of the universe. They are rebels who exhibit a forged seal of state and gather a vile rabble. True disciples of Confucius and Mencius should raise their banner, expose the counterfeit, and destroy these false scholars, that they may get their just reward from the spirits of the former Sages dwelling in Heaven. But scholars do this not. They join the rabble, praise the Western learning and pierce the Sages as with a sword. My powers are all too small, but putting modesty aside I shall explain the learning of the Sages, the false luxuriance of the Western science and the meaning of natural philosophy.

All know that the teaching of the Sages is of the " Way " and not of wonders, so if we know not the " Way," let our hearts be never so honest, we shall be like an archer without a mark, like a traveller who knows not the road, but depends upon his fancies and wanders guideless and chartless into byways. Therefore said the scholars of the Sō dynasty, " First know, then act." But modern scholars are not intent on this and have no true knowledge. They glibly say : " The Way is benevolence and righteousness, obedience and loyalty," while knowing nothing of the reality, the source and body of the virtues. If we ask : Since the Way is one, what distinguishes the virtues ? How were Heaven and Earth formed ? By what do all things exist ? If man's nature is good whence comes evil ? By whose rule are all

men formed alike? Why is there communion with our dead ancestors when we worship them? Why is all the universe well ordered when my one heart is at peace? If we ask any fundamental question the perspiration starts at once and they cannot reply at all. Or if they speak it is only from the fancy of the moment, and within they are like a boat driven by the wind or a horse with a broken halter. Though they read a thousand books and their eloquence flow like a river, they are as drunken men. First of all then, we must know the "Way," and the first step is natural philosophy. This is the method of the holy learning.

"Way" and "ri" differ in form as narrow and broad, but the reality is one. If it is not studied we learn only appearances and forms, but as ri is formless, voiceless, odorless, it can be studied only as ki is earnestly investigated. The Universe is one ki. Divided it is the In and Yō, Heaven, Earth, the Five Elements, and all things, sun, moon, hills, streams, seas, men, birds, brutes, grasses, trees, insects, fishes. Though these all differ yet are they from the one ki. Its ethereal pure part revolving above is called Heaven, its heavy, impure part, stationary below, is called the Earth. Of the Yō and lighting the day, it is called the sun, and of the In and lighting the night, it is called the moon. Endowed with the five elements and resembling Heaven and Earth it is called man. Flying through the air it is called birds, creeping upon four feet it is called beasts; and in each of these various kinds are divisions innumerable. But all are various appearances of the one ki. Condensed it forms all objects of shape and dissolved it is like the air, and there is no space without it anywhere. As it condenses, that which yesterday was not has form, and when it dissolves that which was until now perishes, condensation and dissolution being alike constant and incomprehensible. In all the universe rain and sunshine, bloom and decay, man's birth and death, the past and present of Heaven and Earth, the changes of sea and land are solely because of the ceaseless

changes of the ki alone. The ki is fine and coarse in kind, and though all know the coarse the fine is not so readily perceived. The gods, the soul, the mind, knowledge, all are wonderful, undefinable and of the one ki. They are of its finer part and subject to change, birth and dissolution. They are not changeless like the ri; but careless scholars identify them with it and think the coarser part only is ki.

Ri is not separate from ki, for then were it an empty abstract thing. It is joined to ki and may be called, by nature, one decreed, changeless norm. It is the ruler of ki, the very centre, the reason why ki is ki. So the ancients roughly called it the origin of things and things they called its body, as if ri were like man's heart and ki his body. But remember that is an illustration only, for man's heart is not ri but ki.

Fire and water are ki; and their burning and flowing too are ki. But that water being water flows and does not burn, and that fire being fire burns and does not flow, that such is the decreed nature of the two, this is of their ri. Burning and flowing do not constitute the reality of the ri but it is their necessity, their unchangeableness. Flower and leaf, unfolding and bloom, all are ki. So too is sweetness and bitterness. But that bitter shall be bitter and sweet shall be sweet is decided unchangeably before birth by the ri, and hence there is no confusion, and bitter is never sweet nor sweet bitter. So with all the unchanging unity in variety of nature, its reason is ri. So with man: eye, ear, hand, foot are ki; sight, hearing, walking, talking, all are ki, and because of ri their order is undeviating and their functions unconfused. The heart and its knowing, its feeling, its passions, all are ki; but that joy goes with good and grief with ill, that tears fall with sorrow and laughter comes with happiness, that all this is determined before birth for wise man and for fool, is ri. With differing things ri has differing names yet is it ever one, decreed, unchanging and the same.

As we said before that in the universe there is no space without ki, so now we say of ri, for wherever there is ki there too is ri. Ki is ever flowing, ever changing; that ever flowing, ever changing it is not confused, this is ri. Were ki without ri, only confusion could result. But the vulgar scholars who know only ki think it is first, and that ri comes from it, as if boat or cart were made without a thought of their future use! Not so! The thought of the use precedes, and the ri remains even after boat and cart are gone. But were ri without ki it would be pure nothing, like the Buddhist "knowledge."

Should we think the "Way" to be of ki then with the changing ki, with its newness and its age, the Way too will change and neither the Way of the ancients nor their virtues will be ours. In the end we shall be like the brutes. Fearing this the Sages set forth the "Way" on high with the ri first and thus unchangeable amidst all the permutations of the ki. If we know not ri study is all in vain and leads to heresy, to the worship of the Buddhas and to prayers to the gods.

This is the method of our study:—First with firm resolve we determine the great questions; whether Heaven and I are one? May all men become sages? Is truth one from the beginning? Why have I become a man? Beyond doubt that having the excellence of the five elements I am one with Heaven and Earth, and we will swear to study until death that we may know. Then, that the mind may be clear, passions must be subdued and evil thoughts put away. This is the foundation for the study of natural philosophy. Then may we study other things and acts;—why the ri are not interchanged; why the eye hears not and the ear sees not, and the like. In things, in books, in acts, in our own feelings, from our friends, ever without idleness, must we study and at last we shall comprehend. Though in the multitude of things we can never study all, still shall we know beyond all doubt that amid all changes, in all

beings great and small, in everything is ri. He who studies without knowing it is lost in a city without a map, is like a multitude of workmen who follow neither plan nor leader. All this I know by my experience, but it rests not on my evidence for it has the full support of Shushi's testimony.

To seek ri by the analysis of things is to seek the wind by the analysis of a fan or ideographs by the analysis of a pen. And such is the learning of the West. It knows only ki and deals with the seen. Analysis and the microscope increase its minuteness but show it no ri. It can analyse an egg but does not know why an egg of a barnyard fowl when hatched by a pigeon brings forth a barnyard fowl. It never can learn that the egg enfolds an unchanging ri, be its microscope never so powerful.

So is it with the "Way." The West knows not the ri of the virtues of the heart which are in all men unchangeably the same. Nor does it know that the body is the organ of the virtues however careful its analysis of the body may be. To suppose that the various duties which arise from our natural relationships can thus be discovered is laughable.

The adherents of the Western philosophy, indeed, study carefully the outward appearances, but thus have no right to steal the honoured name of natural philosophy. As when ki is destroyed ri too disappears so with their analysis of ki they destroy ri and thus this learning brings benevolence, righteousness, truth and loyalty to naught. Among the Westerns who from of old have studied details minutely I have not heard of one who was zealous for the Great Way, for benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and truth, and who opposed the absurdities of the Lord of Heaven (God). Their learning of an hundred things stops with an hundred things, and their learning of a thousand things stops with the thousandth. They are like students who learn industriously the forms of ideographs, and not the meaning. However many they may learn, not one book can they understand.

THE WEST KNOWS NOT HEAVEN.*

The doctrine of the Sages knows and worships Heaven, and without faith in it there is no truth. For men and things, the universe, are born and nourished by Heaven and the "Way," the "ri" that is in all, is the "Way," the "ri," of Heaven. Distinguishing root and branch, the heart is the root of Heaven and the appearance, the revolution of sun and moon, the order of the stars, is the branch. The books of the Sages teach us to conform to the heart of Heaven and deal not with its appearances. The son is not filial if he know not his parent's heart, be he never so well acquainted with the shape of his father's face, with eyes and hair and the body in all its details. Such is the Western learning of our times. It studies only appearances and takes Heaven for a dead unmoving thing. It falls into scorn and lust. But it is drawn out long like a thread, and men who know not Heaven's heart are deceived and think, —The West knows Heaven. How great their error!

The books of the Sages say much of Heaven because Heaven and man are of the same ri. The ignorant think that Heaven is Heaven and that man is man, that man and Heaven are distinct. Such men believe neither reason nor the "Way" and with their selfish false wisdom become like brutes. In pity the Sages earnestly set forth the truth.

To know Heaven we must know man's body. It comes from our parents and is nourished by them as all know. How is it that from the beginning of our existence eyes, nose, face, front, back, hands, feet and all the members of all men, past and present, east and west, are in the same order? It is because there is one ri in all the universe, one lord and ruler, the great parents of us all, called Heaven. Its body we know as we study man. Our bodily members

* Consistency requires that the word ten be retained in the translation with ki and ri, but as its translation is not open to question the English word has been used.

perform their duties unremittingly, tears ever fall with grief and laughter comes with joy, because there is a heart within which is the indwelling Heaven. Man makes it not, but voiceless and shapeless it causes this wonderful activity. So the ancients called the heart "the lord of Heaven" and its virtue, "Heaven's clear command"; but with the body removed we call it Heaven at once without other name. To show this oneness Mencius said, "Knowing nature we know Heaven." Would we know Heaven then we must know the condition of our heart's nature. As our conduct conforms to ri, as in moderation we act, as our hearts rejoice when we are righteous and are ashamed at sins, as we know the least right or wrong within, Sage and dunce, emperor and peasant, differ not at all. This is man's nature and this is Heaven. What man's nature hates Heaven hates; and what man's nature loves, Heaven loves. What is loved brings blessing and what is hated brings grief. So have all the philosophers taught. Heaven seems far away and strange, yet in truth it is the living ri that errs not nor ever is deceived. It can be worshipped only by benevolence, by perfecting our hearts in obedience, loyalty and truth, and by the faithful government of province and empire. Cast away evil, cherish the good, turn from the foolish, use the wise; thus only can Heaven be served.

Astronomy observes the movements of the heavenly bodies and makes calendars. It has its uses, but is only of the appearances. As we know its use, as it too comes from the heart which reverences Heaven, it should not be pursued carelessly. The Sages made calendars to strengthen the state, for the farmer works according to the times of Heaven and if he miss the seasons his labour is in vain. Beyond this need the Sages felt no interest in the mere movements of the heavenly bodies. The later Chinese astronomers became famous and went into the details seemingly beyond the Sages. But the true purpose was forgotten, and the labour was all for fame and accompanied with contentious rivalry.

It helped the farmers not at all. Long ago the Chinese scholars pointed this out. All that the astronomers taught the Sages knew but spoke in brief outline, for they dwelt only on that which is of benefit.

The foreigners are worse, and like the brutes. Not reverent of Heaven, and ignorant of the purpose of the Sages, they follow the custom of their land and study all the details, measure distances, observe the stars and make astronomy a toy. Not knowing the parent's heart they handle and criticise his body. It is valueless, and in the end they scorn Heaven and their sin must be severely reprov'd. Unaided by man, Heaven, voiceless and shapeless, violates no law, and causes sun and moon to revolve, wind to blow and rain to fall a thousand, ten thousand years unchanged. But the barbarians with their little knowledge know this not and think Heaven, Earth, man, things, sun and moon, all separate and distinct. They would study all by the shape, and know not the wonder of the overshadowing Heaven. Be it never so minute such astronomy knows Heaven not at all.

Northern lights, comets and shooting stars, are ordinary things, and not the reproofs of Heaven to the Westerns, who will not stand in awe of them. They think Heaven a dead thing not connected with these portents, and thus the Way of the Sages and man's obedient heart are both destroyed. And some of our scholars are deceived, admitting errors and parables in the sacred books; are filled with doubts and accept the new learning. Most pitiful! Most detestable!

Not without reason surely did the Classics bid us fear the signs of Heaven. When sons are wicked, disobedient, dissolute, drunken, idle, gamblers, sorrow fills the parent's heart and his body suffers too. He thinks of suicide; the sorrow grows; and as his ki hardens the head aches, hands and legs tremble, boils, carbuncles and the like appear. This is the cause though men know it not, for as a stretched rope feels a pull through all its length so are parents and

children one, affected alike and with the same feelings. With the distinction of great and small so is it with Heaven and man: body and ki are one. When rulers are virtueless and the ruled lawless, when scholars are wicked and ignorant men recklessly rise in mobs; then Heaven and Earth feel the wickedness of their many sons and their ki hardens. Then come Northern lights, comets, thunder in winter, snow in summer, earthquakes and famines. He who cares not for the suffering of his parent is not a man; and what punishment is too severe if he remain at peace while they for his sake are diseased? Thus do the Sages teach us to reverence our great parents Heaven and Earth as we gaze on them. When signs appear let us examine with all care;—Is this disease because of evil in my heart; or injustice in my government; or hatred among the people; or unjust laws? Even if we find no wrong, yet has the portent come because we are unfilial to Heaven, and we must examine and reprove self with carefulness. The brutes from the West know this not and them I reprove not. But our scholars! Not to know this! For them to turn the teaching of the Sages into parables! With the hearts of fools they imitate the hearts of philosophers, and their folly exceeds that of the foreigners themselves.

Such separation of Heaven and man, of our conduct and its signs is wholly opposed to the Sacred Books. Heaven rejoices when man is virtuous and bestows wind, rain, and harvest in their season so that the empire is at peace and men live out their appointed days; thus are Heaven and man one in joy and in prosperity. Nor let us fail to know that calamities and portents are for our sins and crimes. To separate man and Heaven, to cease to fear its signs and to fail to know our mutual communion, what folly is this! what blindness!

One relationship have we all to Heaven, ruler and ruled alike. Yet has the ruler's sin more open and terrible effect. In the family oldest and youngest are alike loved, yet the sin

of the heir is most grievous since his fall bears down the others too, and so in the state the ruler's sin is most grievous though the sin of the common man is neither overlooked nor unpunished. When many of the common people sin the whole body is threatened and the greater punishments appear. Not rulers only but all affect Heaven and it depends upon all. The teaching of the Sages is for high and low alike.

Astronomy cares for the movements of Heaven, not for its heart. The benefits of its study are few and the injury is great. When in China astronomy flourished most, the morals of the people were most decayed. Only the branches and not the root of Heaven were known and when thus men are ignorant of Heaven's heart evil is within.

Consider eclipses, for example. They follow law, and may be calculated so that men come to fear them not. Not so the Sages, who revered Heaven. The sun is the essence of the great Yō and ever gives light. Whether it lose its light according to law or unexpectedly is it less a change in Heaven? Surely the filial son does not talk and laugh when his parent is ill, merely because the illness is periodical! So when an eclipse occurs he who reverences Heaven beats a drum, makes his offering, fasts, stops all music as did the Sages in ancient days. But nowadays all say that eclipses are ordinary things and not to be feared; and by and by folks will cease to examine self when there is unseasonable thunder, great winds, floods, drought and pestilence. The Sages's teaching that we should examine self is thought folly and Heaven too is scorned. Truly it is cause for the deepest grief. The evil comes from measuring Heaven and knowing not its heart.

Western learning knows not Heaven but only its appearances; it ever discusses new views. As it extends Heaven will be thought a dead thing and will be sinned against and scorned. The great "Way" of the Sages will come to an end. As the adherents of the Western learn-

ing noisily teach and make books they will at last go to the very end and be zealous for the Mansions of Heaven.¹ Should not this be feared?

All that is admirable in the Western learning was already in the ancient books. Without imitating the West we can study these, compare and master them, and on this foundation make true progress. It is not the part of scholars to leave the root and be zealous for the branches. If zealous for the branches we have no cause for pride toward the West, nor any cause for shame if we equal not its learning. We must separate things weighty and light, nor mingle them in choice. But alas! Many are they who know not the great root and are overwhelmed at the minuteness of the learning of the West.

The teaching of the Sages is the original truth and given to men it forms both their nature and their relationships. With it complete naught else is needed for the perfect following of the "Way." Let then the child make its parent Heaven, the retainer his lord, the wife her husband, and let each give up life for righteousness. Thus will each serve Heaven. But if we exalt Heaven above parent or lord we shall come to think we can serve it though they be disobeyed and like wolf or tiger shall rejoice to kill them. To such fearful end does the Western learning lead.

Heaven is high, exalted far above our little efforts to extol or belittle it, beyond our praise or blame. Would we benefit it we cannot; would we kill it, it is beyond our reach. Only as its Way is followed and its laws observed can it be served. Let each one die for duty; there is naught else that we can do.

THE TAI-GI-ROKU.—BY KAIBARA YEKKEN.

Kaibara Yekken was a follower of the Tei-Sha school but in old age came to doubt its teachings. He wrote the

¹ The Christian Heaven.

Tai-gi-roku but did not print it or show it to many students. After his death it was found and edited by Ono Michiakira and printed in the year 1766. The editor prefaces the book with an essay by Daizai Shundai. To Daizai's thorough-going dissent Kaibara's "Great Doubt" was little better than faith. Daizai writes :—

"Kaibara only doubted, he did not reject, and remained within the Tei-Shu household. He too exalted Mencius and so was not a true follower of Confucius. Shishi¹ already departed from the teaching of the Sage and Mencius differed from him still more. But Mencius was so engrossed in teaching the (debased) men of his own time that he did not notice his own divergence from Confucius. Nor did the philosophers of the Sō dynasty notice it, but put his writings by the side of the *Analects*. Mencius said, 'the nature is good' for his didactic purpose, but the philosophers of the Sō dynasty thought that the phrase could be explained only by distinguishing the *ki shitsu no sei* and the *hounen no sei*.² Confucius did not use the terms heart, nature, *ri*, *ki*. They were introduced by Shishi, fostered by Mencius and brought to full luxuriance by the philosophers of the Sō dynasty, being made in all essential points identical with Buddhism and Taoism. Kaibara indeed doubted Tei-Shu but he did not doubt Mencius, and so failed to understand his own doubt.

"Buddhism and Taoism are opposed; their seeming agreement is only in unessential points. The Tei-Shu doctrine is eight or nine tenths Buddhism and one or two tenths Taoism. Kaibara supposed that he was opposing the remnants of these doctrines which remained in Shushi's works. But he was far from thorough or he would have rejected Shushi altogether.

"The words of Confucius are the only standard of doctrine. Even Shishi and Mencius are to be rejected; and

¹ The Grandson of Confucius.

² Pp.

still more other teachers ; and still more these philosophers of a later age. But only they who study Confucius independently are prepared to reject them.

"Shushi's followers place him above Confucius and read no other books. How then can they doubt? I too early read Shushi, but doubts arose which the Book of Changes and the Book of Rites confirmed. I cast Shushi aside and then, first, Confucius shone forth like the sun when clouds are dispersed. In other things I cannot equal Kaibara, but in my rejection of these philosophers I am his superior."

THE GREAT DOUBT.

Confucius was the first to set forth the "Way" with clearness. After him Mencius spread abroad the best of Confucius' teaching, but later on truth almost disappeared ; only a thread remained until the Sō dynasty, when many philosophers appeared. The brothers Tei were chief of them all, and since their time Shushi has been supreme. His writings are the most instructive of all the books since Confucius and Mencius ; it is indeed a blessing to have lived after him that one may study his works. Tei and Shu were the teachers and the models of philosophers. They must be honoured and their teaching believed. Yet Shushi was not a Sage nor can his teaching be put upon a level with the words of the Sage. The Tei-Shu doctrine does not agree in every point with Confucius and Mencius. So scholars must examine the Tei-Shu teaching with impartiality and thoroughness, accepting the true and rejecting the false. The philosophers were not Sages, and only the teaching of the Sages is infallible. Shushi himself thus writes :—"With great doubt comes great progress ; with little doubt is little progress ; without doubt is no progress." But doubt may be either true or false ; true doubt considers profoundly and rejects only when forced so to do ; false doubt is merely destructive, it is not to be taken as true.

The philosophers of the Sō dynasty teach that :—the limitless is the source of the great limit; non-being is the source of being; ki and ri are two and distinct; In and Yō are not the "Way" but are in the category of form; the nature of Heaven and Earth must be distinguished from the 'ki-shitsu'; sei (nature) and ri are one and is born not and dies not; but all of these doctrines are from Buddhism and Taoism and are opposed to the teaching of our Sages. Then further, the Tei-Shu school teaches that the heart is to be purified by quietness, isolation, contemplation, oneness with the ri of Heaven: a method they have taken from the mysticism of the Zen sect and that is not in accordance with philosophy. And once more, 'That the clear empty divinity (rei) is the reality of the heart, and that Heaven's ri is unopposed, empty, broad,' is also from Buddhism and Taoism. They based their teaching on the Classics and yet included that which the Classics taught not and so we must accept and reject with discrimination. They severely criticized Buddhism and Taoism, and how it came about that they yet accepted these in part I do not understand. I can only doubt.

The six Classics are the words of the Sages, the truth of the ages, to be believed and never doubted. Among them all the Book of Changes is preëminent, the profound source of the Classics. If we believe it not what shall we believe? It teaches as follows :—

'In and Yō are the Way, the rest and motion of the one ki. Rest is In, motion is Yō; the endless revolution is thus named.' Thus the Sages put one character (ki) above the In and Yō, with profound meaning. Their teaching was sufficient, the eternal truth, the foundation of right and one character (ri) was not omitted by them. Why has it been added then? The "Way" is the movement of the In and the Yō upon right lines (jō-ri), without confusion. Ri is the ri of the ki, they are not to be separated and made two. There is neither "before" nor

"after," neither separation nor meeting, for ki and ri are just one thing. I cannot follow Shushi as he divides them.

The Book of Changes says again:—"In and Yō are the Way;" but Shushi teaches that while the body is born and dies the nature (sei, i.e. ri) is born not and dies not. And Ritsaiki in complete agreement says:—"In ki is birth and death, in ri is neither birth nor death." But I cannot understand this position and thus suggest my dissent while awaiting fuller instruction. As ki collects, man's body is born; as ki disperses, he dies. Nature is the Ten-ri received at birth and ri is the ri of the ki. These are not two. If the body dies the ri is destroyed. Ki is the source of the body and ri is the ri of the ki, so when born the ri comes to exist and when the body dies there is no more its ri remaining. Coolness and heat are the nature of water and fire: when the water disappears and the fire ceases neither coolness nor heat remains, the nature too is destroyed.

To put ri for sei is not good exegesis of the Classics. They teach that the decree of Heaven, what man receives from Heaven, is nature (sei). In sei is the distinction of the ordinary and the extraordinary; the ordinary is the good and the extraordinary the evil. But the latter are few and do not contradict the teaching that the 'nature is good.' All men like that which is sweet and dislike that which is bitter, yet with one in ten thousand the reverse is true. The exception does not destroy the rule. That we receive from Heaven is the ki-shitsu. The nature of water is to flow and to moisten, and its true nature is pure; but its nature and its purity are not two, they are one. The ki-shitsu no sei and the Ten-chi no sei are not to be separated by analysis. The latter is received by the former, and the former by the latter. If there is no ki-shitsu no sei there can be no Tenchi no sei, and thus the two are one and must not be set forth as two. Confucius and Mencius said nothing of two sei (natures) and so are readily understood. Sei at its origin is ever one; but in

its divisions and branches it is all things. At its source it is perfectly pure; but as things are formed, as the ki is received spontaneously, there is the difference of pure and impure, thick and thin, and as thus received and become man it is his one, decreed nature. Thus the source of Sage and of fool is spontaneously different.

The opponents of the Tei-Shu school since the Ming dynasty have been filled with pride and ambition, desirous of distinction and reputation. They do not know their own true value, as they revile Shushi as if he were their inferior or a heretic and not a true follower of the Sages. It is not true criticism when we are without sympathy, but merely find fault and revile, picking out every flaw as if that were being frank, and rudely magnifying trifles into errors. Even if right such reproof angers him who is reproved, and gains no hearing. That is not the true "Way" of reproof. Such has been the criticism of Shushi by later scholars. His teaching was based on the Classics and not far astray. As he was not the equal of the Sages so are his critics inferior to him. They do not really understand him. On the other hand most scholars have accepted Shushi, but too blindly, as if he were wholly at one with the Sages. Thus the right has been somewhat injured, and again Shushi has been somewhat misunderstood.

The Way of the Sages is readily understood, and easily followed and obeyed. Hence it is thoroughly obeyed, and brings forth great virtues, and there are many who follow it. So Mencius compared it to the great highway and said:—It is not difficult to understand it and I grieve that men go not therein. But the later scholars introduced their discussions making it difficult, too high, too distant, hard to be understood and obeyed. In this they differed from the original teaching of Confucius and Mencius.

With the Sages filial obedience, reverence, loyalty and truth were the foundation, and learning was secondary. Their easy method was like the highway, even the fool

might readily know and follow it. Thus is there progress and a gradual advance toward perfection. But the philosophers of the Sō dynasty with their "limitless and great limit" put progress in knowledge as the first thing: and made the purification of the heart through contemplation the foundation of right conduct; and set forth fine, complicated, literary discussions as the foundation of learning. This is what I mean by "too high and too distant and too difficult." This is to put that which is useless and difficult before the virtues. It is too profound, too minute in its analysis, and in the end misses the plain and chief meaning. In this philosophy differs from the Way of the Sages.

Shushi was fond of Buddhist phrases, and never wholly emancipated himself from the influence of the Zen doctrine, which he studied thoroughly in his youth. He was also fond of humour and misled his readers. He was also too much devoted to the teaching of Shūshi¹ and adopted his teaching so implicitly that he became a partizan in some things, especially in the doctrine of the limitless.

The Book of Changes teaches that the Great Limit begets the two activities (In and Yō). Shushi says, Limitless and so the Great Limit. If we say only the Great Limit, it is just one and we cannot derive all things from it. But the Great Limit is the In and the Yō before their separation, the name of the one mixed ki before things are formed and within it is the supreme ri of all things, the origin of Heaven, Earth and everything. So we should put "being" first and not say "non-being." So says the Book of Changes but 'The limitless and so the great limit' is the language of Buddhism and Taoism. Laoze in his fortieth

¹ Shūshi (Chow Tun-i) ranked only second to Chu Hi in literary rank. (Mayers's Manual, p. 33.) "He wrote the "Tai-kyoku-zu-setsu," which taught that the mu-kyoku is the source of the tai-kyoku, and that by contemplation we may know man's kyoku (limit). The brothers Tei and Shushi followed him, and taught the ki-ri-shin (heart)-sei (nature) doctrine." Shundai's introduction to the Tai-gi-roku.

chapter has it:—"All things come from being: being comes from non-being." Thus "non-being" is made source of all. The Sages on the contrary teach that "being" is the source of all. Our doctrine separates from heresy at this line. If we would say the great limit, we should not use the negative. If the great limit merely denotes formlessness I even can understand that, but there is no cause for Shushi's fear that we cannot derive all things from this one thing. However, this word "limit" should not be explained to mean "formless," as Shushi explains it in his commentary, thus putting "limitless" (*mu-kyoku*) for formlessness.

The *ri* is the *ri* of the *ki*, the one *ki* working in the four seasons with birth, growth, maturity, decay, unconfused, of itself orderly and without aberration. So we take the *ri* as of the *ki*. Thus the original nature of water is pure and flowing, but water is not to be set over against its flowing and purity as if these were two things. They cannot be divided into two and so it is that the regularity of the *In* and *Yō* is the "Way" while irregularity is not the original nature of the *ki* nor its "Way."

The *Tai-kyoku* refers to the very beginning, before all development, when as yet the form of the *In* and *Yō* was not revealed. The "great" means the very highest of all (*dajo*) and *kyoku* means the very furthest boundary, and thus *Tai-kyoku* is the origin of the "Way," the root of all things. Nothing in all the universe is higher than this. We cannot name it but use this term *Tai-kyoku* for it. As the one *ki* moves it is called *Yō*, the movement of the *Tai-kyoku*: as the *ki* rests it settles and is called *In*, the resting of the *Tai-kyoku*. Then again it moves and rests, and so with endless alternations, and motion and rest are alike of the one *ki* and not of two *ki*. Viewed in its origin it is called the *Tai-kyoku*, in its separation it is *In* and *Yō*, in its regularity, on straight lines without confusion, it is called the original nature, the "Way" and *ri*. Thus the name changes with that which we intend to designate, but the

reality is just one. There is no ri without ki, nor ki without ri nor does ki come from ri, for these two cannot be separated, being just one.

At times there is confusion and evil, and the usual order is lost by an undetermined change of movement; but this is not the original nature of the In and Yō, it is like water which is pure by nature but now soiled by its contact with mud.

We may say that ki begets all things, and that ri begets all things, but not that ri begets ki, for the two are one and neither is before the other nor source of the other. But Shushi teaches that ri and ki are two, and this is his usual expression, contradicting the saying of the Sage:—"The In and the Yō are the Way." So in my error I cannot escape from doubt.

SOMETHING MORE ABOUT SHUSHI'S PHILOSOPHY.

BY T. HAGA.

[Read April 13th, 1892.]

The reception of my "Note on Japanese Schools of Philosophy," written with the object of showing how far Japanese philosophy has departed from that of the Teishu school, has made it evident that the views of Shushi need to be brought out more fully than was done in that paper, in order that the difference between them and those of Jinsai and Sorai may be clearly perceived. For this reason, and also because I am convinced that the writings of Shushi are as yet but imperfectly apprehended by English writers on the subject, I will try to put into English, as closely literal as seems possible to me, some of the teachings of this celebrated Chinese philosopher. I wish to be understood to be here attempting not to expound Shushi's meaning and to derive from it a consistent theory of philosophy, but merely to place before others for their own judgments a faithful rendering of some of his statements. The definiteness and clearness which characterise Dr. Knox's sketch of Shushi's philosophy will be found wanting in what follows, but not to a much greater degree than in Shushi's own text.

TAI AND YŌ. 體用

In order to throw light upon Shushi's conception of *taikyoku*, something must be written upon the place of the

Buddhist terms *tai* and *yō* in his philosophy. Although these terms are used almost exclusively by him in connection with the 'way,' they yet relate to everything.

As Shushi does not give definitions of the words *tai* and *yō*, it is difficult to know exactly what he meant by these two terms. *Tai* is literally 'body,' 'substance'; but as far as can be made out of his use of this term he seems to mean something like the true *state* of a substance, its reality. It is the whole state of everything, and includes the power which can produce *yō*. *Tai* often becomes practically identical in signification with substance.

Yō, literally 'use,' may perhaps be more intelligibly looked upon as functional activity, and includes the manifestation of things. *Tai* without *yō* is passive. *Tai* is primary and higher; *yō* is secondary and lower. But while *yō* is thus contrasted with *tai*, it is pointed out that *tai* has present in it all the powers, and that *yō* proceeds from it. Rest is *tai* and motion is *yō*,⁰ but I have not come across the converse statement that *tai* is rest, *yō* is motion.

I can only attempt to give some idea of them by giving examples of Shushi's own use of these terms. *Jin*, which may perhaps be rendered by 'perfection,' is the *tai*; 'understanding' is one instance of its *yō*.¹ The 'heart' is the *tai*,—clear and bright;² 'anger,' 'fear,' 'pleasure,' 'care'³

而不可離	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句曰道之本原出於天而不可易其實體備於己	中庸章句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etc., are its *yō* or activities. *Sei* is *tai*, the substance of the 'way.' But elsewhere we are told that in *sei* are present as *tai*, perfection, righteousness, propriety and equanimity, and 'understanding.'⁴ The feeling of pity is the manifestation (*yō*) of 'perfection'; the feeling of shame in wrongdoing is the manifestation (*yō*) of 'righteousness'; the feeling of respect is the manifestation (*yō*) of propriety; the feeling or sentiment of right and wrong is the manifestation (*yō*) of understanding.⁵ The 'heart' is *tai*; desire is *yō*.⁶ Tranquility is the *tai*; the responding to external influences is *yō*.⁷ Unyieldingness is *tai* and courage is its *yō*.⁸ Brightness is *tai* and the actual shining is its *yō*.⁹ Thus we see that *tai* and *yō* having been distinguished primarily, what is *tai* may further be resolved into *tai* and *yō*.

The heart of man being of one substance (*tai*) with the hearts of Heaven and Earth, when the former is all righteousness the latter become freed from imperfection. Again man's *ki* becoming perfect, the *ki* of Heaven and Earth become so, and this is the extreme 'use' (*yō*) of one's self (*tai*).¹⁰

THE ULTIMATE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSE, AND THE RELATION
OF "RI" AND "KI." 大極 理氣

Shushi says the ultimate basis of the universe is *taikyoku* and that *taikyoku* is *ri*, but utterly devoid of form and

	10	9	8	7	6	5	4
亦體一之能如之心吾中	者	孟	者	論	感	性	即論體而端心則孟
非立用教事此氣亦一	明	子	剛	詔	應	理	用語故充而是隱子
有而雖亦初此亦正體	章	之	集	之	集	是	大體集言之此非之集
兩後有在非學順矣吾	句	用	注	用	注	全	即注不此不之心注
事用動其有問矣吾之	也	曰	曰	朱	遲	胡	同直言心發曰
也有靜中持之故之心	蓋	明	剛	子	用	耳	因端病惡荷嘗中蓋
以之矣於極其氣正天	者	者	曰	即	曰	用	者仁之篇有有仁
行殊是外功效順則地	光	勇	寂	義	心	以	彼義心言孝簡是
則然其而聖驗則天萬	之	之	然	即	著	欲	體恭是弟仁性
其必一脩人至天地物	休	體	是	體	其	其	敬四來義也
實其體逆之於地之本	光	勇	體	欲	本	義	之之者體孝

phenomena or sensible qualities.¹¹ He defines *taikyoku* to be the real substance, *tai*, of that whose motion becomes *yō*, and whose rest becomes *in*, but there is nothing to constitute it apart from *in-yō*. It merely indicates the real substance of *in-yō*, and does not include *in-yō*.¹² Thus then we see, *taikyoku* is the substance of *in-yō* and does not include it. And, as Shushi always says, *taikyoku* is *ri*. It is, therefore, clear that the substance of *ki* (*in-yō*) is *ri*. Thus, such statements become intelligible as that *ri* begets *ki*,¹³ that when it is born, *ri* cannot always control it; that *ki* exists only after *ri* has come into existence;¹⁴ that at the beginning of the universe there was *ri* alone;¹⁵ and that wherever *ri* exists there is *ki*, but *ri* is the original basis.

Literally translated, *mukyoku nishite taikyoku* means 'no ultimate (foundation, back of all things) is the great ultimate.' We are by no means justified in translating *kyoku* as 'limit' or 'finite.' *Mukyoku* was added, Shushi says, by Shūrenkei to the *seijin's taikyoku*, in order to prevent the possible misapprehension that *taikyoku* is a perceptible thing.¹⁸ *Taikyoku*, we are told, is *ri*, but is utterly beyond

極全說語語全語必語子如語他矣若否明朱之也性無雜以所太此性極太	而集人類類集類有類不父類不曰氣曰羣子內陰理極乎離以極形理粗極	太曰欲曰曰曰曰是曰胃子曰得氣如理雜語也陽大無陰乎動圖狀太品圖	極濞便既有當未理有也本蓋如雖此却之類	既全形陽陰而解而全榮說
是溪是謂是初有	是管是氣遠是理只時曰	生朱太而陽陽曰有朱之解	無恐氣之理無天	則子極爲也靜○此子根曰
之人也大便一地	理他一強理理不德則鐵	太曰者言即而此道曰抵無	中道亦本有收之	極太有耳陰陰所理無也聲
有太安只是只光	而不氣而寓所如地其之	在將理	有太安只是只光	陽之類耳極故無
箇極得是氣是非	後得子理于生此只理問	其生	箇極得是氣是非	而本無
極有無理但有竟	有乃弱氣然則是亦天	中陰	極有無理但有竟	指體極
至形本善理此是	是父理了既是氣隨地	理陽	至形本善理此是	大無而
之故	氣所管	復理	之故	極極實
理曰	生極	在生	理曰	正而逆
無	父他	氣氣	無	耀太化
	賢不	理相又駁其		無極之
	氣則	理相又駁其		
	而得	管離間雜聲		

any perception of man. It has no form and makes no manifestation.¹⁷ It is more ethereal than sound and smell, which are still perceptible as *ki*, although without form.¹⁸

The whole subject is obscured by mystical language both by Shūrenkei and by Shushi, but this much seems clear. *Ri* is the real substance or *tai* of *ki*, and is without form and manifestation. The motion of *ri* generates *yō* and its rest generates ¹⁹ *in*. By its motion its *yō* becomes manifest, and by its rest its substance or *tai* is fixed or realised.²⁰ (It would seem almost as if 'motion' and 'rest' were considered by Shushi as being something actually separable from *taikyoku*.) Motion and rest, succeeding each other continuously, produce *in-yō*, and by the changes and combinations of *in-yō* the five elements—water, fire, wood, metal, and earth—are generated.²¹ From *in-yō* and the five elements the male and female elements are formed. And from them myriads of things spring up. The details concerning the evolution of these are mystical and not worth translating. There need only be mentioned that everything is a *taikyoku* and that *taikyoku*, although formless, contains myriads of things in itself.²²

Taikyoku is the 'way.' It is the true substance of the 'way.' It is in perfect rest, and is quite passive.²³ There-

23	22	21	20	19	18	17
通易通太之萬大水太靜○太分動動太恭之形中無	者本乎極一物極火極也之極陰一極極之故在腐形	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物肇無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物肇無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物肇無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物肇無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物肇無
之曰然解各體說金說之所解儀一靜說此最句象	用寂不曰具一解土曰體以曰立靜靜曰可爲曰	然動天一太曰陽所行《焉互而太以微蓋	者之下太極蓋變以也者爲生極形妙聲	感中之極也合陰立☵陽其陰動容而與	之故也分而合也者之根靜而不猶有	體常而言而陰動分極生顯曰氣
感感言之生之也陽復陽篤無無						

fore, he points out, the *seijins* fixed the human ultimate (the ultimate standard for man) by making rest and quietness the most important ideal.²⁴ *Sei* is at first perfect rest.²⁵ Goodness succeeds.²⁶ *Sei* is *taikyoku* where it is at rest. When it responds to external influences, it no longer is under consideration as the substance in its resting state, but is now the activity or *yō*. The *yō* is not the whole of the 'way.' *In-yō* has forms and manifestations or appearances and must be classed in a lower category than *taikyoku*.²⁷ It is only fitted for the *yō* of forms and sensible qualities, and does not serve for all the 'uses' or *yō* of *taikyoku*. It must therefore be classed in the lower category of 'utensils' or common instruments; but 'utensils' are also the 'way,' and the 'way' is also 'utensils' (thus is seen the original oneness of *in-yō* and *taikyoku*).²⁷ The substance and activity, the *tai* and *yō*, are inseparable, and are from one source; the apparent and the obscure have no boundary.²⁸

The above is a synopsis of Shūrenkei's *Taikyokudzusetsu*, and of Shushi's exposition of the diagram in it, and of his two supplementary remarks on the same subject. Where these are not clear, other of Shushi's writings have been consulted.

It will be evident that this interpretation of *taikyoku* is opposed to Shushi's own statements, that there is nothing

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所微爲學又然道之上而大也	之性大也	所性立者太
以蓋一體曰器形列下陰極	者不極	以理常極
爲即源而言亦而也之陽圖	善可圖	立大爲圖
無事也用理道下故列有說	自謂說	也全主辭
聞而言之則也爲程裁氣附	其有附	動朱焉曰
也理事理光道器子此則錄	陰二錄	者子則渾
之則已體亦須曰所亦曰	陽物曰	命曰人然
體光具而器着形以安大	變明夫	之靜極全
可顯是後也如而爲得極	化矣善	所者於體
見而所用此上道而無	而然之	以性是而
是後以蓋說爲器無象	言繼與	行之乎靜

called *taikyoku* which can be separated from *in-yo*, and that *taikyoku* is *ri*,—*taikyoku* is *ki*. Thus, in spite of his words quoted above, he says distinctly that the phrase, *taikyoku nishite mukyoku* means that there is extreme and ultimate *ri* in non-existence (that is beyond the existence known by form and phenomena), and that *mukyoku* means that there is no form, and *taikyoku* that there is *ri*,⁸⁰ etc. Hence arises the objection of Riku-Shozan, that Shushi makes non-existence the basis of the cosmos; and hence also the difference between Shushi and men like Ra-Seian⁸⁰ and Kaibara Ekiken, according to whom everything has a dual existence, (that is Existence itself and the Law of existence) neither *ri* nor *ki* exists by itself, and the existence of *ri* as an entity without form and phenomena is inadmissible. To conceive a thing without form and without sensible qualities to be in the state of motion and of rest, was no doubt the great difficulty for these men.

It is said that Shūrenkei got his diagram from one Boku-Hakuchō (穆伯長) and he from Chin-Kii (陳希夷), both of whom are said to have been followers of Laotse; although Shushi believed that the picture could not have been made by any philosopher less than Shūrenkei himself, and that therefore such stories are unworthy of credit.⁸¹ Again, it is said that Shūrenkei was a pupil of a Buddhist priest, Jugai

云々	生所	得誌	於此	也夫	特其	先生	來而	圖之	嘗饋	合之	乎其	以言	困知	極是	性理
	々々	自文	國政	以是	學之	非止	五峯	傳自	朱內	先各	爲物	合太	記曰	無之	大全
		作之	然以	生之	一師	爲種	胡氏	陳搏	輪震	安在	也果	極與	凡物	中有	朱子
		非有	後知	學又	耳非	種之	作序	種放	進易	耶	二則	陰陽	必兩	簡至	曰無
		受於	其果	觀之	何其	學至	者此	又爲	說簡		方其	果二	而後	極之	而大
		人者	光及	加者								物可	理大		

(壽涯), who lived in a temple called Kakurinji (涇州鶴林寺), near which a shrine of Shūrenkei used to stand, perhaps does so still.

It is also said that the pictures of *kato* (河圖) and *rakusho* (洛書), which Shushi brings forward in explaining the Classic Eki (Book of Changes), are an invention of this Chin-Kii. Indeed, Shushi himself says that the other four pictures he brings forward as the invention of the mythical *seijin*, Fukki (伏羲), were handed down to him through several people from this Chin-Kii. It is the almost undivided opinion of scholars that these four pictures also owe their origin to the inventive genius of Chin-Kii himself.

The ideas of *tai* and *yō* are said to be a borrowing from Buddhist writers. Even the language describing them is said to have been that used by Buddhists. *Mukyoku nishite taikyoku*, no 'ultimate (basis) and so the great ultimate,' is said to occur in a Buddhist book, Kegon-Hōkaikwan (華嚴法界觀). The two phrases, *tai-yō ichigen* (體用一源), 'substance and activity are from one source,' and *genbi mugen* (顯微無間), 'the apparent and the obscure have no boundary,' are said to occur in a Buddhist book, Kegon-Sō (華嚴疏). Certainly Shushi's language²² is often very much like that of Buddhist writings.²³ Making rest and quietness the ultimate goal of man and the mode by which this end is achieved, namely by entirely getting rid of desires, must at once bring to mind the perfect rest of Nirvāṇa. It is possible that Shūrenkei, the author of the diagram, meant more nearly what is conveyed by the literal translation of *taikyoku nishite mukyoku*, which is very much like Laotse's idea of existence being non-existence. The whole language

用有應同一經一歸歸 有而無義有而一大明本本生者序法裝 然所沖
不一群真法中對曰嚴 含有羅形已真虛靜已體身一曰界休 已萬漠
具法機性必凡體體經 容邊萬貌然之寂微米也心切法觀華 具象無
體無外內舉此用旨 萬際千而無境惟廣盡從之衆果門嚴 森朕

of Shūrenkei's text and Shushi's interpretation is mystical. Shushi goes into an explanation of the concentric semicircles found in Shūrenkei's text, and of the direction of the curved lines joining the circles representing the five elements, but it is difficult to say how far such explanations were meant to be taken as any part of rational philosophy.

THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

Ki is not essentially evil. When it is first produced it is quite free from defect. But *in* and *yō* entangling with each other, attracting and repelling each other, coming and going to and fro, rising up and falling down, ever since the beginning of the world, there is naturally produced flat and plain spots, and rugged and inclined spots, the good and bad portions of *ki*.⁸⁴ The different portions of *ki* are bright and dark, clear and turbid, pure and impure, free and obstructed, strong and weak, fine and coarse (in quality), good and bad, clever and foolish, thick and thin, deep and shallow, direct and oblique, resisting and yielding, quick and slow, etc. The inferior portions of *ki*, that is, portions which are either dark, turbid, impure, obstructed, weak, coarse, bad, thin, shallow, oblique, yielding, do not come under the control of *ri*. On the contrary, these inferior portions of *ki* restrain

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上	則	其	固	性	惡	才	厚	正	又	不	惡	然	相	語
智	其	難	無	理		是	謬	氣	曰	善	有	乖	類	
下	善	也	不	大		有	之	但	人	也	善	有	間	
愚	惡	久	善	全		形	異	滾	所	曰	何	平	二	
所	却	矣	然	米		之	藍	來	稟	此	足	易	氣	
以	各	但	騰	子		物	氣	滾	之	却	恠	處	相	
分	自	其	倒	曰		便	是	去	氣	無	語	有	取	
也	有	運	到	二		自	有	便	雖	過	其	傾	相	
	會	行	今	氣		有	形	有	天		本	側	軌	
	處	交	日	其		美	之	明	地		則	處	相	
	此	錯	則	始		有	物		之		無	自	合	

the *sei* and render it bad and hurtful.⁸⁵ *Ki* is the active agent; and *ri*, which resides in it, becomes completely dependent on it. Desires, which prove so powerful in interfering with *sei*, are also from *ki*. Evil does not arise from *ki* not receiving *ri*, or from the absence of *ri*, but from *ri* becoming subjugated by the bad portions of *ki*. Although *ki* alone and not united to *sei* does not constitute the active man, it has yet the power to make even *sei* bad and hurtful. Evidently, therefore, evil is originally from *ki*, according to Shushi.

The Kogaku school's objection to Shushi rests on this point. They argue that since *ri* and *ki* are ever together, and since every property and every motion of *ki* has a reason (*ri*), there must be some kind of reason (*ri*) why *ki* is sometimes so bad, and why it should exert this interfering or restraining force upon *sei* (*ri*).

Now the way to restore the original state of *sei* is evidently by conquering one's selfish desires and modifying one's *kishitsu*.⁸⁶ Only when the *kishitsu* has been completely reformed,—so that no defect remains in it and all selfish desires have been completely rooted out of it, and thus the whole body has become completely under the control of *ri* and in unison with it,—then only is a man perfect. So great is the use of conquering desires, that should a man

理學類編問惡是氣稟程子
云亦不可謂之性何也朱
子曰既是氣稟惡便牽引那
性不好蓋性只是搭付在氣
上又曰性本善今乃惡亦是
爲氣所汨正如水爲泥沙所
混不可不喚作水
中庸章句曰呂氏曰君子所
以學者爲能變化氣質而已
德勝氣贊則愚者可進於明
柔者可進於強不能勝之則
雖有志於學亦愚不明柔不
能立矣
論語集註曰日克之(私欲)
不以爲難則私欲淨盡天理
流行而仁不可勝用矣

attain to this state of perfection he would convert the world.⁵⁷ Although the Teishu school encourage the study of *ri* in all things as the means of understanding *ri*, this study of things is to be done only by contemplation and can end only in contemplation. It is taught that if a man persistently endeavour to understand *ri*, there will come a time when the reason of everything will be clear.⁵⁸ And farther, that man's planning and scheming are injurious to the attainment of good. As all study about the *ri* of things is vain when one's heart is ruled by desires, the first object must be the getting rid of desires. Such a doctrine is very nearly identical with the teachings of Buddhism, whose characteristic way to freedom from doubt and heresy lies through freedom from impurity and from evil longings of all kinds.

KISHITSU NO SEI.

As my statement that *kishitsu no sei*, although affected by *ki*, is originally only from *ri*, and that its distinctness from *honnen no sei* cannot be maintained in detailed application, may present difficulty to some, I will give here a few words in explanation. *Kishitsu no sei* being used for man's actual present nature, it should logically be a combination of *ki* and *ri*, yet Shushi maintains that it is from *ri*, and still remains as such. He says *kishitsu no sei* is *tenchi no sei* (*honnen no sei*), and that if it is not from *tenchi no sei* then it loses all foundation.⁵⁹ He teaches that *sei*, though affected

不性又底地天語則又少之語此大無焉之大也言天又	
從亦曰性之地類善曰計間類謂用不則久學其下曰	
這只性性之曰得靜較動曰知無到衆而章效之一	
裡是只却性氣來坐如多今之不而物一句之人日	
出從是從只質條無何少說至明吾之旦曰甚皆克	
有這理那是之暢開得思性也此心表歸至達與已	
甚裡氣裏這性雜善處善謂之裏然於而其復	
歸出質過箇便思萌一物全精實用至仁體	
着若之好天是處多日格體粗通力大極則	

and modified by *ki*, still remains as *sei*, and does not form a combination, or a third existence, in which both *ki* and *ri* would be originally present. He teaches that the modifying effect of *ki* is not so deep-going as essentially to modify the *sei*, or that *ki* does not enter into the constitution of *kishitsu no sei*. *Sei* remains as *sei*, and *ki* remains as *ki*; ⁴⁰ hence the name of *kishitsu no sei*. The modifying action of *ki* is a force applied externally. Its effect is only on the surface. Thus, Shushi illustrates the state of existence of *sei* in *kishitsu* by glowing charcoal imbedded in ash, the dulling of a mirror on the surface, the bright sun veiled in mist, a brilliant jewel in turbid water, etc. *Kishitsu no sei* is *sei (ri)* existing within *kishitsu (ki)*. *Honnen no sei* is the real, transcendent, formless state of *sei*.

Shushi's *kishitsu no sei* is something like an Englishman settled among Japanese: he must become modified or affected in thought and manners by Japanese surroundings (for as Shushi says, *ki* is strong, *ri* is weak); but he does not therefore become a combination of English and Japanese: his blood is free from mixture. Take away the influence of Japanese associations and he will be again the pure Englishman. The union of *sei* and *kishitsu* is something like marriage between the two. It is not the becoming one individual. Hence the objections of men like Kaibara Ekiken to Shushi's division of *sei* into the two classes; for these men see the difficulty in determining where *honnen no sei* itself exists, since it becomes *kishitsu no sei* so soon as it exists in *ki*. ⁴¹

When we come to the application of this division of *sei*, Shushi says "*sei* is originally good but is made impure by

分之性然受性性何苟氣之之之分有古大 不性然其性氣氣又
而性亦則天亦乎處非質性性折一今疑 相自氣方却有已曰
爲耳是氣地置氣稟氣之亦其與於性之錄 夾是自在常不有未
二不天質者非質受質稟置天氣天不人曰 雜性是氣在存此有
可地之耶所之天則乎非地實地要只蓋 亦氣中雖而性此

ki. This is like water made turbid by mud, which must still be called water." Because the Teishu school maintain that *sei*, when influenced and modified by *kishitsu*, still remains *sei*, and do not recognise that *kishitsu no sei* is a combination of *ri* and *ki*, therefore they are forced to make such strange statements as that '*sei* is *ki*,' '*ki* is *sei*,' and Evil must also be *sei*.⁴³

HEAVEN.

Although Shushi says repeatedly that Heaven is but *ri*, yet he makes statements that cannot be understood without some kind of Supreme Being existing. For instance, though Heaven does not see and hear directly, it is said to see and hear through men's hearts.⁴³ Again when a king is very tyrannical to his people, Heaven decides whether he should remain as king or not. So long as it is Heaven's order that he shall remain as king, the people must respect and obey him, but on the day when this order is reversed the tyrant king loses all claim to be longer a king. A righteous subject has now right to dethrone him and to become king himself in his stead, provided the whole nation be rejoiced at this change. Whether Heaven approves or not of such a change is known through people's hearts.⁴⁴ When people are rejoiced at the fall of the old king and the election of the

民而然是容孟如皆孟也	固自物有即程不氣性
心已命君髮子此從子	性如相善性可所本
民趙之臣一集則於集	然而爵惡生曰不汨善
心氏絕當日註天民注	惡惡而然之生嘆正今
悅曰否日之張與之曰	亦是生不謂之作如乃
則征何命聞子之視天	不氣也是也謂水水惡
天代以絕天曰可聽無	可稟有性人性爲亦
意之知則命此知民形	不有幼中生性泥是
得道之爲未事矣之其	謂然而元氣即沙此
矣當人獨絕間歸視	之也善有稟氣所性
順情夫則不聲聽	性善有兩理氣混爲

new, Heaven's mind is satisfied at the change. Heaven here and elsewhere, is made to have both heart and mind. It is the heart of Heaven and Earth that everything should grow up and multiply.⁴⁵ Shushi said indeed that there is no personal God who literally appoints, protects, etc., as written in the Classics. But elsewhere he asserts that to say there is no Lord (主宰) in Heaven is wrong;⁴⁶ and in spite of his explaining away the words in the Classics as being metaphors, he himself takes special care to use such phrases as that 'Heaven let the human race down (on earth); Heaven appointed the *seijins* to govern and teach the people how to recover the original state of their *sei*, etc.;⁴⁷ Heaven gives, man receives; and so forth, when it would have been very easy to avoid such phrases and use others not liable to mislead. He says the word 'Heaven' in the Classics means sometimes the blue heaven, sometimes the Lord, and sometimes simply *ri*,⁴⁸ and it is therefore clear that it to him does not always mean *ri*. But it would appear from his writings that there are also these three meanings for Heaven in Shushi's own use of the word. All this seems to show that he had a vague idea of something presiding over the world, (in his language, *shusai* 'Lord'), who is a kind of First Cause, and prior to *taikyoku*. There is a possibility that Shushi

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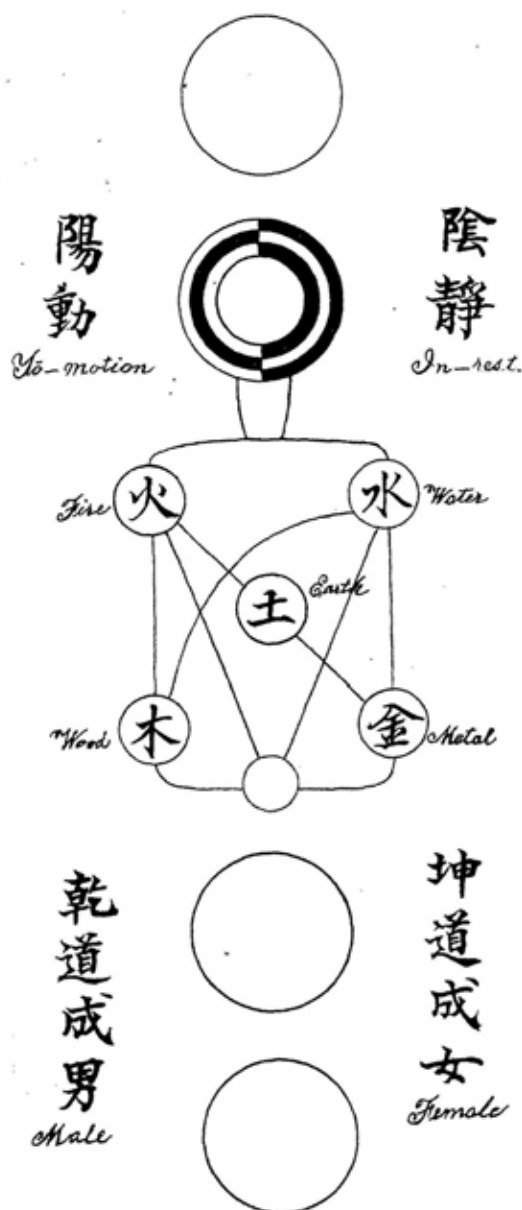
說者	語極	神治	必能	大之	則大	達可	箇不	語孟
主得	類	農而	命盡	學性	既學	裏說	人已	類子
宰分	問	貴教	之其	章矣	莫章	要過	在便	若集
者晚	經	帝之	以性	句	不句	人全	那是	々註
也也	傳	堯以	億者	序	與序	見無	裏那	之天
有有	中	舜復	兆出	一	之筮	得主	批箇	謂地
單說	天	所其	之於	有	以自	之判	而天	以
訓蒼	字	以性	君其	聰	仁天	者罪	今運	生
理々	曰	繼此	師聞	明	義降	又惡	說博	物
時者	要	天伏	使則	磨	體生	不固	天周	爲
有人		立義	之天	智	智民	可不	有諫	心

used such language in order not to raise the prejudice of the popular belief. But this supposition is difficult to accept, because Buddhism, which does not recognise any true Creator, was accepted by the multitude in Shushi's time. The only likely explanation is that he was trying to reconcile his teachings with the writings of the Classics, whose language evidently assumed the existence of a Supreme Being. No doubt he made every effort to smooth away the differences between the Classics and his own teachings.

The world is destroyed periodically after a certain great number of years, when men become hopelessly wicked, and then a new world begins again; but Shushi is not clear whether each world begins spontaneously, or whether worlds succeed each other, the first having been started by some Cause. In this matter the Teishu school strongly resemble the Buddhists, who teach that the world is periodically destroyed by water, fire, or wind, and a new world begins again. Yet it is not strictly a new world, for the beings in the new world are a kind of continuation of those who lived in the preceding world.

太極圖

*Tai Kyoku
Diagram.*



生化物萬

Generation of all kinds of Things.



CHÔMEI AND WORDSWORTH : A LITERARY PARALLEL.

BY J. M. DIXON, M. A., F. R. S. E.

[*Read, Feb. 10, 1892*].

There are few countries upon which nature has lavished so much beauty as Japan, and her inhabitants have not shown themselves heedless of their privileges. In the domain of art the beauties of nature have been reproduced by Japanese artists in a way that has delighted the world, and effected a revolution in Western ideas of what constitutes beauty in ornament. In the domain of literature the Japanese have shown less power and originality. If the inhabitants of Europe have been fettered by conventionality in expression, this has been still more the case in Japan. It may be said with truth that except in a small department of composition, having an affinity with our sonnet,¹ they have furnished nothing new or fresh in the realm of literature. But still we should expect to find a certain amount of truthful utterance respecting the aspects of nature, such as we find in English poetry since the time of Cowper. Before Cowper's time classical and Hebraic influences had been too strong in Europe for the growth of what we might call in a restricted sense "natural religion." A recluse in European countries,

¹ 'The beautiful rhymeless short ode of Japanese poetry, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to Mr. Chamberlain.'—Theodore Watts on the *Sonnet* in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed.

till Rousseau took up his abode on St. Peter's isle in the Lake of Brienne, was always a religious devotee, a man of introspective habits who retired from the world to make up his account with his Maker. This habit of theological introspection, it is true, is absent in our Elizabethan poets, but then classical traditions were all powerful in their interpretation of nature. Shakespeare's world is not simple outside nature as he saw it, but a world semi-Italian in its ideas and vocabulary. The prettiest song which he wrote is the sevenade in *Cymbeline*; and it opens with a classical conceit:—

Hark ! hark the lark at heaven's gate sings,
 And Phœbus 'gins arise
 His steeds to water at those springs
 On chaliced flowers that lies ;
 And winking Mary-buds begin
 To ope their wondering eyes :
 With everything that pretty is, my lady sweet, arise ;
 Arise, arise !

It was Wordsworth's mission in English poetry to remove this foreign element of nature interpretation, and with a mind wholly receptive to study nature at first-hand and record the impressions which his mind received. He wished as much as possible to be a child again, and with this view he ran a tilt against theological dogmas like that of Original Sin which seemed to him to cast a slur upon nature. He thus ignored in his treatment of the world the problems of sin and atonement, and brought himself in touch with all such as, in any land and conforming to any religion, sought to enjoy the works of the great Creator. When, therefore, we find a Japanese literary character of the 12th century retiring to the hills and seeking to find communion with the mountains, the streams, with animate and inanimate life, we at once think of contrasting him with our high-priest of nature. This is why I have linked together Chômei and the bard of Rydal Mount. Both were recluses ; both were devout admirers of nature, and receptive in their attitude towards

her. Chōmei, the son of a priest in the province of Yamashiro, was born in the middle of the 12th century. Disappointed in his hopes of worldly promotion, he sought retirement in the sequestered village of Ohara. Afterwards he became for a time the guest of Sanetomo at Kamakura, but again withdrew from the world, passing the remainder of his life in the province of Etchū. He is highly esteemed as a poet, and many of his pieces are popular. The passage offered in translation gives a very fair example of his philosophy and style. Though a good Buddhist, he does not seem to have been in any way a devotee, but rather to have mildly conformed with the requirements of that religion, whose tenets were no doubt congenial to him. In one passage of the extract occurs a reference to sin, the appearance of snow suggesting to him sins which accumulate and then vanish away. To Christians the reference at once recalls the passage in Isaiah in which the promise is made that "sins which are as scarlet shall be made white as snow." But there seems little beyond a surface connection between the two statements. According to the Buddhist creed, sins are washed away by devotion, by prayer, and by good deeds. Chōmei confesses that he was lax in attending to the rites of his religion; certainly Wordsworth was the reverse of punctilious in these matters. Both of them seem to have found their chief delight in studying the varying aspects of nature. But Wordsworth's attitude towards society was infinitely more sympathetic and kindly, while in the background of his solitary walks and musings among the hills were an affectionate household and the realization of all that is most delightful in home life. No doubt he was out of touch with town life, and disliked the din and rush of the city, but he was not indifferent to the sufferings and struggles of humanity and would have rejected the callous indifference of Chōmei as animalistic. Many of Chōmei's moral musings, indeed, remind us strongly of the sentimentalism of a mock-antique balled like *Edwin and Angelina* :—

Alas ! the joys that fortune brings
Are trifling and decay,
And those who prize the paltry things
More trifling still than they :
And what is friendship but a name,
A charm that lulls to sleep—
A shade that follows wealth or fame,
But leaves the wretch to weep.

The sentimentalism in each case is shallow and unsatisfactory, the misanthropy is a temporary phase of mind, the result of pique. "Life," says Chōmei; "is empty as the cast-off shell of a cicada." Here he speaks not as a philosopher but as a disappointed man of the world. His blood does not grow richer and warmer by his secluded life among the hills; it seems to grow thinner and colder, and his whole being looks forward to the happiness of a mere passivity. It is not the gladness that accompanied the development of Wordsworth's life, spent also avowedly in conformity with nature, and with a desire to prove as receptive as possible to its influences. On his sixty-third birthday Wordsworth writes in a different strain from Chōmei, very at nearly the same age :

Teach me with quick-eared spirit to rejoice
In admonitions of Thy softest voice !
Whate'er the paths these mortal feet may trace
Breathe through my soul the blessing of Thy grace,
Glad, through a perfect love, a faith sincere
Drawn from the wisdom that begins with fear,
Glad to expand.

This last phrase seems to sum up the whole divergence. Wordsworth's life among the hills was a life of yearly expansion : Chōmei's was confessedly spent in a contraction that was finally to end in absorption in the Infinite. Self was to the latter a "floating cloud," a "drop of dew," soon to melt in the infinite and be heard of no more. The ideal of

his solitary life was tranquillity, the absence of worry, offence, and anxiety. He refrains from all attempts to proselytize, or preach to others. "These remarks of mine," says he, commenting upon the satisfaction he finds in living so simple a life, "these remarks are not intended as a sermon addressed to the well-to-do." Here comes in the national indifferentism which so often strikes the Western mind as strange, and which, though pleasing at first because of its inoffensiveness, is in the end irritating from its complete lack of moral glow and strength and warmth. We are reminded of the old question of Cain; "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is the æsthetic as distinguished from the religious frame of mind. Now, Wordsworth is not an indifferentist, but has always a didactic aim more or less in view. At the close of the *Prelude* addressing Coleridge, he writes:—

Prophets of nature, we to them (the nations) will
speak

A lasting inspiration, sanctified
By reason, blest by faith : what we have loved,
Others will love and we will teach them how ;
Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
A thousand times more beautiful than the Earth
On which he dwells.

No indifferentism is to be found in an utterance like this. Again, in Chōmei's attitude to flowers and trees, we find an affinity to the ways of the modern æsthete, pleased with the hue or curve of a bough or blossom. "On my way home from the moor of Amazu," he remarks, "I am frequently rewarded by finding a choice bough of cherry or maple or a cluster of fruit, which I offer to Buddha or reserve for my own use." Was Cain's offering of a similar gift to Jehovah rejected purely because of the mental attitude of the giver, or because of the nature of the gift? Is there any underlying moral in the Bible story? Can culled flowers and fruits be made to speak the language of moral truth?

Or is their mission in this respect limited to the department of æstheticism? It is certain that Wordsworth had a repugnance to the plucking of flowers and twigs, as if it were a kind of sacrilege:—

Then up I rose
And dragged to earth both branch and bough, with
crash
And merciless ravage: and the shady nook
Of hazels, and the green and mossy bower,
Deformed and sullied, patiently gave up
Their quiet being.

The remembrance struck him afterwards with pain, and he proceeds to advise his daughter to leave such scenes in peace:—

Then, dearest Maiden, move along these shades
In gentleness of heart; with gentle hand
Touch—for there is a spirit in the woods,

The beauty of a creature is, so to speak, its own, and is independent of locality, while the beauty of the vegetable world belongs to the creative spirit of the Universe. Here comes in the Pantheism of Wordsworth, a Pantheism strictly conservative of the individual as a free agent, and dealing directly with the world of things. It was a protest against an irreverent attitude towards mountains, groves, and brooks, all of which silently interpret the mind of their Creator, if we will but read the lesson:—

One impulse from a vernal wood
Will teach us more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

It will be found that, when Wordsworth uses the objects of the vegetable or inanimate creation for a poetical purpose, they are never dissevered from their surroundings. It is the "*primrose by the river's brim*"; "*the meanest flower that blows*".

A host of golden daffodils,
 Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
 Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.
 Or, when he talks of the modest Celandine :—
 Thou dost show thy pleasant face
 On the moor, and in the wood,
 In the lane—there's not a place,
 Howsoever mean it be
 But 'tis good enough for thee.

The west, both to Chōmei and to Wordsworth, was a quarter from which came comfort in meditation. The valley in which the Japanese sage lived opened out, he remarks, to the west, the home of the happy, whence comfort came to him in his meditations. To Chōmei it was a mild influence, significant of complete rest hereafter, when his soul would be lost in the infinite ; while Wordsworth refers to it as a goal, whither he is travelling and where possibly will be granted a larger and a fuller life :—

Stepping westward seemed to be
 A kind of heavenly destiny ;
 I liked the greeting ; 'twas a sound
 Of something without place or bound ;
 And seemed to give me spiritual right
 To travel through that region bright.
 The voice was soft, and she who spake
 Was walking by her native lake :
 The salutation had to me
 The very sound of courtesy :
 Its power was felt ; and while my eye
 Was fixed upon the glowing Sky,
 The echo of the voice enwrought
 A human sweetness with the thought
 Of travelling through the world that lay
 Before me in my endless way.

It will be observed in the extract that Chōmei refers to the cuckoo as having a mournful note. In this concep-

tion of the bird he follows the Chinese tradition, for in Chinese poetry it is always spoken of as having a sad and mournful cry. There is a transmigration story in Chinese literature, which makes the Emperor Bō of Shoku turn into a cuckoo after death, whence its Chinese name of Bō-tei. According to another tradition it tears its mouth in crying and blood issues forth, whence a second name given to the bird, *Tei-ketsu* or "Wailing-at-blood." Japanese writers have not clung to this foreign conception of the cuckoo, but, on the contrary, are loud in singing its praises as a herald of joy. In one of his poems Chōmei himself speaks of it as a pleasant visitant, much in the manner of Michael Bruce (or John Logan ?)—"I was struck dumb with pleasure for a few minutes after hearing the cuckoo's note, sounding for the first time in the year."

The bird is also credited with cherishing deep love for its mate, and the fact that it does not hatch its young is frequently commented upon. In Japanese poetry we find it usually associated with the moon, the *Tachibana* or orange shrub, with rain, with clouds, and with the *Uyonohana* (*Dendzia Scrabra*). Several of the valleys in the neighbourhood of Kyōto, where the bird is rare, were noted for its song, and thither parties used to go when spring-time returned to enjoy the luxury of hearing its notes.

In Mr. Chamberlain's delightful volume, *Japanese Classical Poetry*, two lyrics culled from the *Manyefushifu* (*Manyōshū*) will be found, which address the cuckoo in the most friendly terms :—

Though through the livelong day
 Soundeth thy roundelay,
 Never its accents may
 Pall on my ear :
 Come, take a bribe of me !
 Ne'er to far regions flee :
 Dwell on mine orange tree,

Cuckoo so dear ! (p. 95.)

The above is anonymous. A few pages further on occurs the second lyric, written by Hironoha, and bearing the date, A. D. 750 :

Near to the valley stands my humble cot,
 The village nestles 'neath the cooling shade
 Of lofty timber ; but the silent glade
 Not yet re-echoes with the cuckoo's note.
 The morning hour e'er finds me, sweetest bird !
 Before my gate ; and, when the day doth pale,
 I cast a wistful glance adown the vale ;
 But e'en one note, alas ! not yet is heard,
 (p. 113.)

Still again, among the *Short Stanzas*, (p. 119) in a piece attributed to Hitomaro, the cuckoo is associated with the wisteria as representative of early summer :—

In blossoms the wisteria-tree to-day
 Breaks forth, that sweep the wavelets of my lake :
 When will the mountain cuckoo come and make
 The garden vocal with his first sweet lay ?

This is far from the Chinese mythological and classical-Japanese notion, which makes the bird a herald of death and dissolution, whose note summons a soul to begin the ascent of the mountain of death. The same struggle is noticeable in English poetry between an unpleasing foreign and a pleasant indigenous conception of the cuckoo. Readers of Horace will remember the passage in the first Book of his *Satires* (VII, 31), where, in a street encounter, a passer by calls a rustic, *cuculum* that is, "lazy lubber," by way of contempt² :—

Magna compellans voce cuculum.

In Drayton we discover this South-European conception, which had come to him through Italian literature :—

"No nation names the cuckoo but in scorn,"

² Compare the modern Scotch *gowk* = 'stupid fellow.'

It was regarded as a type of selfishness and of unwarranted intrusion into domestic privacy and harmony. The coarse allusions to the cuckoo as an adulterous bird, so common in Elizabethan poetry, die out in the XVIIIth century. The term "cuckold," used contemptuously for *weakling*, lingered on, and is perhaps last to be met with in Burns's drinking song, *Willie Brewed a Peck o' Maut*. A recent editor of a book of college songs has been censured for reproducing the term :—

Wha first shall rise to gang awa.
A cuckold, coward loon is he !

Milton in his first sonnet names it 'rude bird of hate'—he calls upon the nightingale to sing :—

Now timely sing, ere the rude bird of hate
Foretell my hapless doom in some grove nigh.

In another sonnet he classes it contemptuously with asses, apes, and dogs, animals which have a harsh and displeasing cry :—

When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs.

John Bunyan likewise treats the cuckoo very disparagingly, blaming it because it is neither the first to welcome our spring, nor bring us its first tokens. He calls it a "yawling-bawling cuckoo" :—

' And since, while here, she only makes a noise
So pleasing unto none as girls and boys,
The Formalist we may compare her to,
For he doth suck our eggs and sing "Cuckoo" !

It must be remembered that the earlier English conception of the bird, like our later and present attitude towards it, is altogether different, being thoroughly friendly. The first English song set to musical notes addresses the cuckoo as a cheerful bird, the messenger of spring :

Summer is y-comen in,
 Loud sing, cuckoo :
 Groweth seed
 And bloometh mead
 And spring'th the wood now :
 Sing, cuckoo.
 * * *
 Merry sing, cuckoo !
 Cuckoo, cuckoo !
 Well sing thou, cuckoo !
 Nor cease thou never now.

The poets of the XVIIIth century reverted to this earlier attitude :—

Sweet bird, thy bower is ever green,
 Thy sky is ever clear,
 Thou hast no sorrow in thy song,
 No winter in thy year !

This freshest and brightest of XVIIIth century lyrics, originally published by Logan in 1770, is now generally ascribed to his friend Michael Bruce. This lyric is a landmark in English poetry, the bugle-note of a new era. Its influence on Wordsworth was undoubted. That a poet should dare to address seriously so commonplace a thing as a cuckoo, *Scottice* "gowk," otherwise "fool," was a new thing in polite literature. Here we establish a community with the nature lovers of old Japan, who made excursions to the green valleys of Yamato that they might listen to the cuckoo's voice. It is a noticeable fact that Miss Wordsworth, in her life of her relative, brings in his attitude towards the cuckoo as illustrative of his treatment of nature. While Tennyson, speaking of the bird, uses the language of mere sensation :—

The cuckoo told his name to all the hills,
 Wordsworth speaks in the language of ideas,
 O cuckoo, shall I call thee bird,
 Or but a wandering voice ?

Our present attitude toward the bird may be summed up in the lines of a recent contributor to the *London Spectator*; and it will be seen how closely this attitude approaches that of the Japanese, as unaffected by Chinese influences:—

Forbid the solace of home to know,
 Or dutiful ministry's crowning grace,—
 Some twist primeval has hardened so
 In the long career of a vagrant race;
 Though he build no timely nest,
 Or semblance of a nest,
 In the way admired and best,
 His lay enchains the ear
 With an elfin power to cheer,—
 Cuckoo! cuckoo! cuckoo! cuckoo!

Note.—The Japanese cuckoo, of which there are four varieties, is migratory like the European bird. These sub-orders are:—

CUCULUS CANORUS, L. (Common Cuckoo)—Kakko, Ômushikni; CUCULUS INTERMEDIUS, Vahl. (Himalayan Cuckoo)—Tsutsndori, Ponpondori; CUCULUS POLIOCEPHALUS, Lath. (Little Cuckoo)—Hototogisu, Tokiwadōri, Imosedori; CUCULUS HYPERYTHRUS, Gld. (Amoor Cuckoo)—(wintering in China and the Philippines) Jyu-ichi, Jilishinchō. Of these the third variety is undoubtedly the poets' favourite. It is relieved to deposit its eggs in the nest of the *Uguisu* (*Cettia cantans*) or Japanese nightingale. The Common Cuckoo makes use of the nest of the Japanese Bunting (*Hōjiro*). Our English cuckoo lays its eggs in the nest of the wagtail, which makes an affectionate foster-mother; and also in the hedge-sparrow's nest. The words of the Fool in *Lear* will be remembered:—

The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long
 That it had its head bit off by its young.

A DESCRIPTION OF MY HUT.¹

By J. M. DIXON.

[*Read February 10, 1892.*]

NOTE.—For the original draft of this translation, as well as for much valuable assistance in the explanation of details in the translation and in the introduction, I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. K. Natsume, a student of English Literature in the Imperial University.

The water incessantly changes as the stream glides calmly on ; the spray that hangs over a cataract appears for a moment only to vanish away. Such is the fate of mankind on this earth and of the houses in which they dwell. If we gaze at a mighty town we behold a succession of walls, surmounted by tiled roofs which vie with one another in loftiness. These have been from generation to generation the abodes of the rich and of the poor, and

¹ The Japanese title is *Hojo-ki*. The term *Hojo* literally signifies ten-feet-square and occurs first in a Buddhist work, the *Uima-Hyo*, where Uima is said to have collected a vast audience in a room which was only a *hojo*. The term came to be used for a priest's hut, then, as is so common in Japanese phraseology, for the priest himself. The term is frequently met with in the literature of the Tokugawa times as applying to the old rector or keeper of a Buddhist temple.

yet none resist the destructive influence of time. Some are allowed to fall into decay ; others are replaced by new structures. Their fate is shared by their inmates. If, after the lapse of a long period, we return to a familiar locality, we scarcely recognize one in ten of the faces we were accustomed to meet long ago. In the morning we behold the light, and next evening we depart for our long home. Our destiny resembles the foam on the water. Whence came we and whither are we tending? What things vex us, what things delight us, in this world of unreality? It is impossible, truly, to say. A house and its occupant, changing perpetually, may well be compared to a morning-glory flecked with dew. Sometimes it happens that the dew evaporates and leaves the flower to die in the first glare of day ; sometimes the dew survives the flower, but only for a few hours ; before sunset the dew also has disappeared.

During my two-score years of existence I have been fortunate enough to witness several notable spectacles. On the 28th day of April in the third year of Angen (1177), during a night of wind and storm, a fire broke out at eight o'clock in the evening in the south-eastern part of the capital,¹ and spread rapidly in a north-western direction. One portion of the palace buildings, with the Official College and the Home office, were before morning reduced to ashes. The conflagration was supposed to have had its rise in a temporary structure used as a hospital, and to have spread from this quarter northwards in the form of an open fan. Cloaking the distant houses in smoke, it licked the intervening ground with greedy tongues of flame. The sparks, dispersed aloft, and of dazzling brightness, illumined the sky for miles around. Amidst this ruddy chaos, the flames might be seen, urged on by the wind, leaping over whole blocks at a time, and finding a lodgment in a new quarter. The inhabitants ran hither and thither in a state of dis-

¹ Kyōto.

traction. Some fell down insensible, choked by the smoke; others perished in the flames. Such as had the good fortune to escape with their lives lost all their property. An incalculable amount of treasure and of wealth was destroyed. Thousands of people and an immense number of cattle fell victims to this merciless conflagration. Surely it is futile for a human being to expect immunity from harm in so dangerous a spot as a city!

My next experience was also remarkable. On the 29th of February in the 4th year of Jisho (1180), a whirlwind arose in Kyogoku,¹ and drove on with terrible fury towards Rokujo.¹ Travelling three or four hundred yards in every gust, it wrecked all the houses that lay in its path. Some were thrown flat on the ground; others were unroofed and left standing with only the bare posts remaining. The roofs of gates were blown off, fences were broken down, and landmarks swept away. Articles of furniture were whirled up into the sky, and the straw and bark which formed the roofing of houses were scattered through the air like the leaves of autumn. A blinding dust, thick as smoke, filled the air, and the noise of the elements drowned all human utterance, reminding one of the wind called *go*,² which, at the end of the world, will sweep every thing before it. Surely, thought I, this visitation comes to us as a warning from the Unseen. (Here follows an account of the removal of the capital to Settsu in 1180, of the famine year, 1181, followed by pestilence, and of the earthquake in the second year of Genreki 1185).

Such are the woes that meet us on earth, so fleeting is life, so unstable are the habitations of men. Still greater is the discomfort we undergo through the constraints of social bonds. Those who enjoy the favour of the great may for a short season be steeped in pleasure, but they cannot attain permanent happiness. Forcing back their tears, they fre-

¹ Districts in Kyoto. ² A Buddhist tradition.

quently counterfeit a careless smile, though always restless in demeanour. Like a sparrow close to an eagle's nest, they live in a state of continual fear. The poor, on the contrary, are the slaves of their wretched condition; they are forced to look upon the impotent envy of their wives and children; they must pocket the insults of their rich neighbours; they are denied even a moment's peace of mind. Such, again, as dwell near crowded thoroughfares are unable to escape the fury of configurations; but let them remove to the country and they will suffer the inconveniences of bad roads, not to speak of occasional visits from burglars. A strong man knows no contentment, a weak man is the object of scorn; to heap up wealth is merely to add so much to our cares; poverty and distress go hand in hand; dependence on others makes us their slaves; charity imposes fetters of affection on the mind. To act exactly as others do is intolerable; to pursue a wholly independent course seems to be madness. In what spot shall we find a resting-place, and what occupation will furnish distraction to our mind?

For long I lived on a property which I had inherited from my paternal grandmother. Having, however, lost my family, and passed through a series of misfortunes which left me weakened in body, I was at length compelled to leave my ancestral home, and at the age of thirty to take up my abode in the solitude of a hut, scarcely more than one-tenth the size of my former residence. It consisted of but one room, and was not a house in the ordinary acceptation of the term. A wall surrounded the enclosure in which it stood, but I could not afford a gate. The posts of the carriage shed were of simple bamboo. In a heavy gale or in a snow storm the hut ran great danger of being swept bodily away, or of being crushed under the superincumbent weight of snow. Moreover, as it stood close to the banks of a river, a flood might easily engulf it. Living in this uninviting abode for thirty years, I at length fell a prey to dejection. I had leisure to muse on the vicissitudes of human life and on the fickleness of

fortune. At length I formed the resolution of quitting the hut and the world together. I was bound by no family ties and could feel no yearning towards what I had left; being no pensioner, why should I long for my former position? And so I migrated to the hills, and spent many springs and summers on the cloudy heights of Mt. Ohara.

The dew of sixty years that was on the point of vanishing, crystallized afresh on a tiny leaf. My new habitation is small even when compared with its tiny predecessor, and might be likened to a night's shelter for a belated traveller, or to the cocoon which encloses an old silkworm. My life is slowly declining and my fortunes ebb with it. In structure the dwelling resembles no ordinary house. The single room measures ten feet by ten, and seven feet high. It occupies no permanent site, as I have felt little inclination to settle in any one place. The floor is of clay, the roof is of thatch, the boards are fastened together with hooks for ease of transportation. Were I to change my home, what expense should I incur? Two carts are sufficient to carry the whole structure. Only the slight price of the hire of these, nothing more!

Secluded in the innermost recesses of Hino, I have added a few conveniences to my hut. On the southern side I have hung a temporary curtain, with a bamboo mat under it; on the western wall a shelf has become the sacred receptacle for the image of Buddha, where his brow may catch the brightness of the western sun. On each of the two door leaves I have hung a picture—one of Hugen, the other of Hudō. Above the lintel of the northern door I have fastened a shelf, on which are placed several black leather boxes containing literary papers, Japanese songs, *ōjio-yoshū*¹ and the like. Close by, leaning against the wall, are a *koto* and a *biwa*, to which I have given the names of *Origoto* and

¹ A Buddhistic manual, in two volumes, written in Japanese (not Sinico-Japanese).

Tsugi-biwa, respectively. On the eastern side is my bed, consisting of a mass of ferns on a straw mat. Beside it, and close by the window, stands my writing-desk and a brazier, and these, with a pillow, complete the furnishing. To the north of the hut lies my garden, a small patch enclosed by a broken hedge and containing a selection of medicinal plants. South of the house a pipe conducts water to a reservoir which I have constructed of stones. The near vicinity of the well-wooded Toyama, with its vine-clad slopes, provides me with sufficiency of fruit and of fuel. The valley, though dark with thick underwood, opens to the west, the home of the blessed, thereby offering much help to my meditations.¹ In spring I gaze on the purple clusters of the wistaria, which hang in wavy profusion all around. The mournful note of the cuckoo ushers in the summer, and puts me in mind of my latter end. With autumn comes the shrill chirrup of the cicadas, which I interpret as a dirge for life, empty as their cast-off shells. Snow has an attraction for me, because it seems to symbolize human sin, which increases in depth and then melts away. When indisposed I frequently fail to perform my devotions or to read the sacred books, and no one can call me to account for the omission. Nor have I any friend in whose presence I can feel ashamed when neglectful of my duties. The discipline of silence,² towards which I have no special inclination, I perforce observe, having no friend to tempt me to chatter. Being out of the reach of temptation, I run no risk of breaking the canons of Buddhism. When in the morning I happen to come to the river's margin, and watch the vessels plying up and down, I feel that my frame of mind and my position exactly resemble Manshami's.³ Again, when the wind

¹ The west is, to Buddhists, associated with *Gokuraku*, the land of beatitude, whither good men go after death. ² Imposed upon Buddhist priests, as on the Trappist monks of Europe. ³ Manshami is a character in the *Manyōshū*.

rustles among the cinnamon leaves, I call to mind the scene in Junyo Bay, in the Junyoko off Hakurakuten, and begin playing on the *biwa* in imitation of Cinnamon Dainagon.¹ I have no special musical skill, but then there is no one to criticize my efforts; I sing to myself, and thrum for myself, merely as a mental relaxation.

At the mountain foot stands a small cottage, in which dwells the keeper of the mountain. His boy now and then pays me a visit and accompanies me on leisurely strolls. Though he is but sixteen and I am sixty, the difference in our ages makes no difference in the pleasures which we mutually share. We collect cranberries, gather *kaya* flowers, fill our baskets with mountain-potatoes, pick parsley, or weave mats from the fallen corn-stalks. When the weather is fine I ascend the mountain peaks to gaze from afar on my native district, and to revel in the beauty of the surrounding scenery. Of this delight I cannot be deprived, as nature is not the private property of any individual. And I often go on long excursions, over Sumiyama, and past Kasadori, visiting the shrine of Iwama, or making a pilgrimage to Ishiyama. Sometimes I go as far as the moor of Awazu, where are the ruins of old Seminaru's cottage, or linger by the grave of Sarumarudai, beyond the Tagami river. On my way home I am frequently rewarded by finding a choice bough of cherry or maple, or a bunch of ferns, or a cluster of fruit, which I offer to Buddha or reserve for my own use. A "bright moon on a calm night recalls to me the men of old; the cries of monkeys affect me to tears:"²

¹ A famous *biwa* player who flourished at the close of the XIth. century. ² The poems of Tōhō, in the period of Fūkyō, first refer to the chattering of monkeys as pitiful. The following is from O'Shōrei, a contemporary of Tōhō's, who flourished in the eighth century:—Among the fragrant orange plants we part at a river-side inn; the wind from the river blows hard and sends the rain athwart the ship. Far hence, before the moon of Mt. Sho, alas, will the shrill cry of apes prolong your grief even in your dreams.

the fire-flies in the herbage gleam like the torches of Magiji-ma. A morning shower sounds exactly like wind rustling through the trees. When I listen to the notes of a wild bird, I speculate whether it is the male or female bird calling for its young.¹ The bold appearance of a solitary hart reminds me of the wide gap that exists between the world and me; the plaintive voice of the owl fills my mind with pity. Scenes like these are found everywhere around in inexhaustible abundance, possessing for those who are profounder in reflection and quicker in apprehension than myself still more varied attractions. Five years have elapsed since I first took up my abode in this place. The flimsy shed has now fallen into an almost dilapidated condition. Under the eaves there has accumulated a thick mass of mouldering leaves. A coating of moss covers parts of the floor. From time to time tidings have come to me from the city of the death of many noble persons there. And it is an easy matter for me to calculate the number of humbler folks who have also been overtaken by the same fate. Many houses, too, must have been consumed in the numerous conflagrations. Only this unpretending cot of mine remains safe and undisturbed. Narrow though it be, it provides a couch by night and a seat by day, and suffices to shelter me. The shell-fish is content with its contracted abode; the fish-hawk lives on a craggy and inhospitable shore that it may avoid mankind. Like them, I am fond of a single life, with no object of affection to cherish, no friendships to cultivate. My sole desire is to find tranquillity, to be free from care. Others, when they build a house, build it not for themselves;

¹ A reference to the lines of Uki Moto:—"Whenever I hear a pheasant sing, *horo, horo*, I wonder whether it is my father or my mother." The title of the poem in which the lines occur is "All beings are our parents." Boshio (16th century) also expresses the same idea:—"I long to see my father. I long to see my mother, whenever I hear a pheasant sing." The pheasant was typical of parental affection.

their houses are for their families, or their instructors, or their lords, or even for their oxen, their horses and their treasure. But I have built mine for my own sole use, because I have no companion, and no friend to live with me. What is friendship but regard for the rich and open-handed, and contempt for the upright and kindly? Better to make friends with music and with nature! Our servants, caring only for rewards and punishments, estimate our regard for them by the amount of largesses we bestow on them. We throw away kindness on those who neither need nor appreciate it. Let us rather be our own servants, using our own limbs—a manner of life, which, if somewhat irksome for the moment, is much easier than to employ others. Let us make use of our bodies for two ends—our arms as our servants, our legs as our vehicles. The mind which acts in sympathy with the body, may use the latter when fresh, allow it to rest when tired. Let the mind be careful neither to overtax the body, nor, on the other hand, to encourage it in its disposition to be lazy. Exercise is health-giving; why then sit in idleness? To trouble others is a sin; why should we ask for assistance? With regard to my diet and clothing, I observe the same principles. A garment of *fuyi* and a bed-quilt of hemp suffice to cover my body. My life may very well sustain itself on the *kaya* flowers which flourish in the wilds, and on the fruits that grow on the mountain side. My poor thinly-clad figure is no object of ridicule in these solitudes. Meals so scanty as I have described have still a relish for me. These remarks are not intended as a sermon addressed to the well-to-do, for I am merely comparing my previous life with the present. Since I renounced the world's pleasures, envy and fear have vanished from my mind. Free from regret and reluctance, I pursue my course as Providence directs me. Looking upon self as a floating cloud, I place no dependence on it, nor, on the contrary, am I in the least dissatisfied therewith. Fleeting pleasures

have dwindled into insignificance over the dreamer's pillow; his life-long desire finds its satisfaction in the contemplation of the beautiful in nature.

The three worlds¹ consist of only one mind. Treasures, horses, oxen, palaces, castles,—what boot they, so long as the mind is uneasy? In this lone place, in this small cottage, I enjoy full peace of mind. Were I in the city, I might feel shame in becoming a beggar; but settled here, I pity those who toil and moil in the dusty highway of the world. Let him who doubts the truth of my words merely look at the denizens of the sea and of the air. A fish never grows weary of water; but its motive none but a fish can tell. So birds are fond of the woods; ask them the reason why. The same may be said of seclusion; its pleasures cannot be understood by one who has not led the life.

The lunar course of my life is fast drawing to a close, and every moment I draw nearer to the peak of death. When the time shall come for me to make a sudden start for the darkness of the "three ways,"² of what use will it be to me to have troubled myself with earthly cares? Buddha enjoins us to love nothing earthly. To love my moss-clad hut, this of itself is a sin; even this cherished tranquillity is an obstruction to salvation. Woe to those who, to while away the time, indulge in idle pleasures.

One quiet morning after making these reflections I propounded to myself the following question: Granted that your object in forsaking the world and retiring to these woods and mountains is to tranquillize your mind and carry your principles into practice. But, though in appearance you are a sage, yet your mind is soaked with impurity. Though your hut resembles the dwelling of Jyomo,³ yet your conduct

¹ The three worlds of matter, spirit and passion. ² The name of a river, which, like the Styx, has to be crossed by the dead.

³ The hero of Yuimagyō, a Buddhistic book.

falls short even of Shuri-Bandoku's.¹ Is this the result of poverty, or of inward impurity? This question I left unanswered, but twice or thrice repeated involuntary prayers.

Written in the hut at Toyama, on the last day of March in the second year of Kenreki (1212 A. D.) by Renin, the monk.

Alas; the moon, now hid behind yon peak,
Denies the constant light I seek!

¹ A disciple of Shaka-Munyi, noted for his weak memory.

SPECIMENS OF AINU FOLK-LORE.

LEGENDS X, XI, XII.

BY REV. JOHN BATCHELOR.

[Read April 28th, 1892.]

LEGEND X.*

HOROKEU KAMUI KOT' TU- THE LEGEND OF HOW THE
 RESHI AKORE KATU OMA YU- YOUNGER SISTER OF THE WOLF-
 KARA. GOD WAS GIVEN TO ME (to wife.)

Akoro sapo iresu hine ram- I was brought up by my
 ma kane oka an ruwe ne. elder sister and always re-
 Iresu ruwe ene oka-hi :— mained at home. I was
 reared in this wise :—

Kane¹ umangui ni umangi The¹ iron and wooden
 uweoriro o. Kane umangi beams (of our house) were
 umangi kata ibe-op noka ibe- painted in diverse colours.
 tam noka charuwatore.² Shiri Upon the iron beams were
 kunne koro ibe-op noka-ibe- placed² pictures of swords

* Legends I—VII and VIII—IX will be found in vols. XVI., Pt. ii. and XVIII., Pt. I. of the Transactions of this Society.

1. The word here translated "iron" is, in the original, *kane*; by some Ainus also pronounced *kani*. It is doubtful whether *kane* would not be better rendered by the word "beautiful" than by "iron;" thus we should read,—“the beautiful wooden beams, &c., (see Legend VI Vol. XVI., Part II. note on verses 1 and 2.)

2. "Placed." *Charuwatore* really means "to be placed in order;" "to be set in rotation." Hence it is doubtful whether the "spears" and "swords" here spoken of were not real rather than mere pictures or paintings, and were carefully placed in order upon the beams as may sometimes be seen in some few Ainu huts to-day.

tam noka shiknu kamui ne;³ arutam kochupu-chupu.⁴ Notakop nipek, eembe nipek, shakus toikunne, chisei upshoro emakuatara okai an.

Hike, rapoketa; Kunashiri uirup, Shumashiri⁵ uirup, makaugane remetok koro gusu, tami patek irangetupa ne ki yak nye. Arushka gusu aemokoro koslikiraru an an ruwe ne. Shine an ta akoro sapo tu numon ibe⁶ anuruoka eterekere.

Okake an koro, hotke kosonde⁷ akoro sapo ikaseshke; pirika mokoro annoyekora aeramu an koro, hopuni an ine, araukopashitep ashito-

and spears. By night these pictures of swords and spears became living gods³ and flashed about blindingly.⁴ The brightness of these tools and sharp instruments lit up the inside of the house during the darkness.

Whilst things were in this state it was said that, the inhabitants of Kunashiri and Shumashiri⁵ were beyond measure brave, and pursued war as a profession. I was so angry at this that I was unable to sleep.

On a certain occasion my elder sister cooked two days⁶ food.

After this she covered me up with the bed clothes⁷

3. "Became living gods." Probably some secret drill was carried on by night with a view to future war.

4. "Flashed about blindingly." *Arutam* is said by the Ainus to mean a "flash" like a "flash" of lightning. *Kochupuchupu* means "to blink the eyes at." The flashes were here caused by the spears and swords knocking together when at drill.

5. *Kunashiri* and *Shumashiri* are Islands to the Northeast of Ezo.

6. "Two days' food." A poetical way of saying "much food," or "a large quantity of food."

7. "Bed clothes;" Ainu *hotke kosonde*. *Kosonde* appears to be the Japanese word *kosode*, a wadded silk garment, and *hotke* is "to lie down to sleep;" hence *hotke kosonde*, "sleeping clothes" or "bed clothes." None but a "well to do" Ainu could have a *kosonde*, and most likely the word is here used to show that our hero was a chief of the people. The Ainus, however, maintain that *kosonde* is a real Ainu word whatever *kosode* may be.

mush. Orowa no, Kunashiri kotan Shumashiri kotan kopakehe aituyere. Arapa an, aine, pirika pon pet sanru konna maknatara. Pet putu ta arapa an, aige, pon urat' tapkop⁸ koi yange ni kurukashike oosor' ushi.

Samata arapa an. Iugau ruwe ene oka-hi:—Shiwentep ainu retara kosonde utomchiure. Pon shiwentep shongo iporo eipottumma; shinuai kaue itak an hawe ene oka-hi:—"Ingara gusu itak tunash guru itak okake akotuye; itak moire guru itak etoko kotuye rame-tok a ne ruwe ne. Tunashi itak an."

Itak an rokbe pon shiwentep hottoro kata kotususatki;⁹

and, when I judged her to be fast asleep, I arose and girded on my sword.

I then set out for Kunashiri and Shumashiri.

As I went along a pretty little water-way opened up (*before me*). So I came to the river's mouth, and, a little mountain⁸ like fog was (*I saw*) sitting upon a log of wood which had been cast up by the waves of the sea.

I went up to it; and this is what I saw:—An Ainu woman dressed in white clothing. The little woman looked as though she had come with a message; nevertheless I spake thus to her:—"Look here, I am a person so brave that I cut down fast speakers ere they have finished talking, and slow talkers at the beginning of their speech. (*So*) speak quickly."

As I spake the little woman trembled exceedingly;⁹ and,

8. "Mountain like fog." *Urat* or *urara* is "fog," and *tapkop* is a single, solitary mountain or hill; or a mountain standing quite alone. The "fog" which looked like a "little mountain" turned out to be an Ainu woman, as will be seen hereafter.

9. "Trembled exceedingly." The Ainu words are *hottoro kata kotususatki*, lit: "she trembled upon her fore-head." This is a phrase used to express great fear; her forehead shook through fear.

tusa imaka niyerishpa iki rok ine, itak hawe eue oka-hi:—
 “Tapan pon pet pet etokota horokeu Kamui yai-iriwak¹⁰ koro an ruwe ne. Kot'tureshi a ne hine uitek hawe ene ani:—Rametok koro wa Ainu ne yakka Kamui ne yakka komonnukurip. Shumashiri uirup Kunashiri uirup ne ruwe tapan. Shinen e ne wa e arapa yakka wen rawe ne na. Akot'tureshi shirika sak¹¹ yakka okkeu kashi apirikare wa nekore kusu ne na. Tande wano hoshihi ikore yan; sekoro okaibe, akoro yupi ye utekkara ariki an na,” sekoro itak. Arushka gusu yupke tamkuru akoterekere. Hopumba tomun tup ne rep ne ausatuye. Inotu oroge hopumba humi keurototke ki rok; awai iteksam peka ainu kurumam chishipusure; aye rok kuni, horokeu kamui aarakotomka koro wen buri enan kurukashi chiparasere. Kurukashike

chewing the sleeve of her dress (*as in fear*) spake as follows:—“At the source of this little river I have a blood-relation¹⁰—the Wolf-god. I am, his younger sister and have been sent to say this:—The inhabitants of Kunashiri and Shumashiri are men so brave that neither gods nor men dare approach them, (*so that*) if even you go there, and alone, it will be bad (*for you*). My younger sister is a poor worthless creature,¹¹ but I will make up for that by giving you some presents with her. So now return from here; it was to say these things (*to you*) that my elder brother sent me here.” So spake she. I was angry at this and therefore struck her fiercely with my sword. I killed her whilst she was rising. Her soul departed with a great sound; but Lo, the shadow of a man appeared at my side; it was,

10. “Blood relation.” *Iriwak* are one's own blood-relations, while distant relations are called *iritak*.

11. “Poor, worthless creature.” *Shirikasak* means, “destitute;” “poor;” “worthless;” “ugly.” The Wolf-god meant to say that his sister was utterly unworthy of the hand of our hero. However, he would make up for that by giving a large dowry or marriage portion with her. It was customary among to Ainus to give some dowry with a bride when she got married.

itak omare eue oka-bi:—
 “Usaine katap, ainu akpo
 irashka shiri aoyane ue na.
 Nep wen itak akot'tureshi
 neutek-kara e tunashi raige
 ki shiri tap an? E ki rusui-
 be rai ne yak ne chitunash
 raige itasa pakno aekarakara
 ki gusu ne na.”

Sekoro itak koro, yupke
 tamkura ikoterekere, aurai
 poka ayaikoniukesh, peken'-
 rera ne¹² tamtui kashi ama-
 unoyere. Itasa pakno ynpke
 tamkura akoterekere. Ho-
 pumba toman, tap ue rep ne
 ausatuye. Inotu oroge ho-
 pumbahumi kenrototke; ashi-
 ri pito¹³ ue, nei a pon pet
 pet etoko kohum henene; ka-
 shokake chakkosauu. Orowa
 no ashiriikinne Kuunashiri ko-
 tan akonrepuni yupu arapa

without doubt, the aforesaid
 Wolf-god. He had anger
 depicted upon his counten-
 ance. Now this is what he
 said:—“It is ridiculous of
 you, my young Ainu brother,
 to get angry in this way.
 What was there improper in
 the speech I sent my younger
 sister to deliver to you that
 made you slay her so sudden-
 ly? If it is death that you
 are seeking, I will slay you as
 quickly as you slew her.”

When he had so spoken he
 set upon me with his sword,
 but as I had no wish to be
 killed outright I turned my-
 self into wind¹² and jumped
 above his sword-sweep. I
 (then) attacked him as he
 had done me. I cut him
 down as he was rising¹³ up.
 His soul departed with a
 great sound, he became a
 new man and went round
 the mountains towards the
 source of the little river.

12. *Peken' rera ne* is “became bright wind.” Though the Ainus say that their ancestors had power themselves invisible by turning into air, yet all our hero intends to say here is that he made haste to escape the sword sweep aimed at him.

13. “Became a new man.” *Pito* is often used in Ainu legends and seems to be from the Japanese word *hito*, “man.” The Wolf god's spirit having been released from the body was renewed, and went off beyond the mountains. The victory belonged to the Ainu.

an, aine, Kunashiri kotan
Shumashiri kotan akoshirepa.

Pakuo ne koro, orowa no,
Kunashiri kotan kotan pakehe
kotan kesehe weu tumiram
akohetukare. Orowa no,
kunne hene tokap hene ro-
rumbe patek tuni patek aki
rokine, shine okkaiyo a nep
ne gusu, tane anak ne ami
kosoude heru penram atek-
okbare. Nei rapoketa tuima
kotan kotan tapka ta tap au
kamui man¹⁴ tap an kamui
kuru chihetukbare, seenne
moyo no kurukashike pase
kamui humrarire. Ariki ine,
akot tamunchi koshirepa. In-
gar'an ruwe, a un ebisei ta
kane umangi ni umangi kata
aruchoroshite ibeop naka ibe-
tam noka shiknu kamui ne
kamui man etok uweshinoiba.
Ariki ine, orowa no tuni koro
kata nep araige shomoki no
po Shumashiri uirup kunashiri
uirup kotumi koro. Eattereke
ne Shumashiri kotan Kuna-
shiri kotan wentoikanto ako-
kirukara. Pakno ne koro,
senram sekoro ibeop noka

After this there was peace.
When this was over, I walk-
ed fast till I arrived at Kuna-
shiri and Shumashiri.

After this, having arrived
at Kunashiri I stirred up a
grievous war from one end of
the land to the other. And,
as I was carrying on this
war single-handed, both day
and night, I found that my
clothes (*were torn so much
that*) nothing but the front
of my garment hung from
my arms. By and by ther^e
arose over the distant mou-
tain tops, such a mighty
wind¹⁴ and shadow, and
above all, there was the
sound of the approach of a
great company of the gods.
Yea, they came to the place
where I was fighting. On
seeing the gods fly before the
great wind (*I recognised them
as being*) the spears and swords
which were placed upon the
iron beams of our house; they
had become living gods. When
they came, the war with the
people of Kunashiri and Shu-
mashiri was as nothing, for
in a moment their country

14. "A mighty wind." *Kamui man*, lit: a wind of god.

ibetam noka kamui man etok
uwelhopumba paye wa isam.

Orowa no, akoro kotan
kopakeheta aituyere. Ek an
awa, tap an kamui man kuru-
kashike pase kamui seenne
moyo humrarire. Ioukashi-
ke chikarure; kurukashike
kamui itak hau horaochiwe
ene oka-hi:—"Ingara gusu,
tan heikachi, itak an chiki,
onnere an. Ashinuma anak
tap Poiyaumbe¹⁵ a ne ruwe
ne. Tnmunchi patek rorum-
be patek aki rok ine, akoro
kotan Shinutapka ikeshui
hine ariki an, awa, shuma
nuru un heikachi chish hau
charototke. Tambe gusu,
ingar'an awa, pon heikachi
chish koro oka; oro oyachiki,
Okikurumi¹⁶ ainu moshiri

was completely laid waste.
When this was over, the
spears and swords rose up in
the air and departed in the
same manner as they had
come, before a mighty wind.

And so I returned home.
When going along there ap-
peared a great host of gods
riding upon a mighty wind.
Hovering over me a voice
from a god came forth, which
said: "Look here, my lad, I
have something to say, so
pay attention. As for me, I
am that Poiyaumbe.¹⁵ I left
my home at Shinutapka in
wrath because there was
nothing but war in the land.
And, as I was coming along
I heard the voice of a lad
crying among the stones; I
went therefore to see what it
was and found it to be a lit-
tle lad weeping. Now, Oki-
kurumi¹⁶ was the governor of

15. *Poiyaumbe*, "Brave AINU." The speaker here makes known to one hero that he is a well known person—in fact—a brave man whose fame has spread far and wide. No further introduction was needed than "that Poiyaumbe." [See Trans: Vol. XVI. Pt. ii, Page 147 Note 1].

16. *Okikurumi* is the AINU name for *Kurōhangwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune*, who was driven to *Yezo* by his younger brother in the 12th century of our era, and who is said by the AINUS to have taught their ancestors the arts of fishing and hunting.

moshiri noshike epungine the middle of Ainu-land; and
 gurn, nitne kamui shine- (once upon a time) the devils
 ikinne kotumi koro, Shukup made war against him with
 ebitta¹⁷ ki rok ine Nitne ka- one accord and slew every
 mui innep ne gusu annu- one of his¹⁷ men, for the
 tuiba. Okikurumi koro devils were numerous. The
 machi hoku kemnu, tambe wife of Okikurumi took her
 gusu, pakkai ine hoku okata child upon her back and
 tumi koro aine annu-tuiba. came to avenge the death of
 Pon heikachi e ne, ine, shu- her husband, but she was
 ma ututta eara kosonde e ko- slain. You were that little
 karakari e ann a an. Ki rui child which she took and
 mashkin aekemnu gusu akot'- wrapped up in a garment
 chisei aeoresu, e poro pakno and put among the stones.
 akoro sapo e resu ruwe ne As we much desired to
 wa ne yaknu, e poro koro avenge you we brought
 Horokeu kamui kot'tureshi ek you up in our home; and
 orowa ne yak, tap an mo- after our elder sister had
 shiri noshike e epungine ki reared you and the younger
 gusu ne ap. Moto isam no sister of the Wolf-god had
 Kunashiri kotan Shumashiri come to you, it was settled
 kotan e kotumi koro; nei that you were to govern the
 kashita, Horokeu kamui nep middle of Ainu-land. And
 wen kentum kon rok gusu now without cause you have
 tureshi tura no e tunash rai- warred against Kunashiri and
 ge? Irushka an gusu e resu Shumashiri, but above all,
 sapo teke apashite; tane anak what evil had the wolf-god
 ne ki shiri na na. Heue ki and his sister done that you
 yakka, shukup eturupak shu- should have so quickly killed

17. We learn from this legend that Yoshitsune was slain while fighting. Who the "devils" were that slew him is not stated, but I have been told privately that he was killed in Karafto by the Karafto Ainu in one of their feuds with the inhabitants of Yezo. Yoshitsune, it is here stated, left one son. He also, we are told, was afterwards killed in battle.

kup ekashu apa¹⁸ ne koro utan'ne koro e koro ki kunip tap ne ibetam noka ibeop noka ne ruwe ne na," sekoro kamui itak hau horaochiwe.

Ashirikinne irushka keutum ayaikoropare; sapo ohai araikotenge, tamparaparakae-sau animba. Chish an aine "neita pakuo echish ike e koro sapo e nukar'heki yainu an gusu" ayainanka piriba-piriba. Orowa no akoro kotan ta ekan; awa, son noka un, akoro sapo tarape muni eotnyetuye oara isam. Orowa, shinen a ne wa an an, aige, shineanda chisei soita ainu ariki, ioyamokte aki, awa, aronnu rokbe Horokeu kamui kot' turesh poro chitarabe¹⁹ sei hine ariki. Orowa no, iparo shuke ramma kaue okai an. Nei rapoketa ibe-op uoka ibe-

them? I am angry with you for this and therefore your sister has been led away into captivity, yea, she is even now being taken away. However, these swords and spears, some of which are of your age and some of which are your elders, are your friends and relations."¹⁸ So spake the voice which came down from the gods.

Then again I was angry, and, weeping very bitterly, called after my sister. While weeping I thought to myself—"however much you weep it will not bring your sister to you"—so I wiped my face. On arriving at my home I found that my sister and all her furniture and ornaments had, in truth, entirely disappeared. After this I lived alone. Now, one day, I was much surprised to hear people outside. It was the Wolf-god and his sister whom I had killed that were coming; they were bringing a very large bundle¹⁹ with

18. "Relations." It is here clearly stated that the spears and swords which have hitherto been spoken of as having been painted on the beams of the hut, were, in reality, living men, or warriors.

19. "Large bundle." The marriage portion spoken of above.

tam noka shirikunne koro shiknu kamui ne; arutam kochupuchupu. Tambe patek ayaineusara ka okai au, aine, Horokeu kamui kot'turesh akor'ine okai au ruwe ne.

them. After this they stayed as servants; then the pictures of spears and swords came to life at night and did nothing but exercise and talk together of old times. I then married the younger sister of the Wolf-god and we live together.

LEGEND XI.

WHY THERE ARE SNAKES IN AINU-LAND,

AND

WHY THEY SWALLOW FROGS.

Fushkotoita ene an orush-pe an-i:—

Nei okokko, "tam-moshitta okai an ko aep ka isam; gusu, rep un guru moshiri orun oman kusu ne," ani itak.

Awa, nei terekeibe ene itak-hi:—

"Shomo oman yakka piri-ka", ani itak: gusu, "nep gusu nei hawe ne ya?" ani itak. Awa, "tam-moshitta e an wa e ep isam chiki, kuani oat-chikirihi ruki kane an ko anak ne kironnu; gusu, shomo oman yakka piri-ka", ani terekeibe itak. Gu-

The following is a tale of ancient times:—

The snake said, "I cannot stay in this country for there is no food; I will, therefore, migrate to a foreign land."

Thereupon the frog replied:—

"There is no necessity for you to go away." Upon this the snake asked, "Why do you say so?" The frog answered: "If in staying in this country you find you cannot obtain sufficient food, you will, if you swallow one of my legs, be fully satisfied;

su, shomo oman no tam-
moshitta okai ruwe ne; wa
gusu, nei terekeibe nukara
chiki, ruki patek ki rusui
koro okai ruwe ne.

there is therefore no necessity
for you to go away." And
so the snake did not migrate
but stayed in the land;
and now, whenever it sees
a frog it always has a great
desire to swallow it."

LEGEND XII.

WHY WESTERN YEZO IS SO ROUGH AND
DANGEROUS.

"Kotau kara kamui kotan
kara katu tap ne an ruwe ne
yak aye.

Turesh tura no kara wa,
nei turesh anak no Anruru
moshiri kara; orowa, okkai
kamui anak ne Chupka mo-
shiri kara wa, uwetushmak
wa kara yak aye. Awa, nei
turesh shiwentep ne gusu,
oina kamui kot turesh an,
aige, tura no monraige sho-
moki no nei turesh tura
uweneusara. Rapoketa, ok-
kai kamui kotan kara okere
ehange; ne wa ambe nukara
wa orowa no kimatek gusu,
nei Anruru moshiri nei no

"This is the way in which
the maker of places is said to
have created the world.¹

He and his younger sister
made it between them; the
sister's portion was the West-
ern part of Yezo while the
male deity made the Eastern
part, and, it is said, they
vied with each other in their
work. Now, as the younger
sister was but a woman, she,
happening to fall in with the
younger sister of the Divine
Oina, instead of doing her
work stopped to chatter.
While this was going on the
male deity came near com-

1. The world here means the Island of Yezo only.

kara ; yakne tunashi no kara
 kuni esanniyo gusu, wen no
 wen no kara katuhu ne wa
 gusu, tau Anruru moshiri
 ayaikikip ushike patek poron
 no an ruwe ne, ari ambe upa-
 shuma au."

pleting his portion of the
 task ; seeing this, she, being
 surprised, made the Western
 part after the slovenly man-
 ner it now is. It was there-
 fore because she did her work
 in too great a hurry that it
 was done so exceedingly
 badly ; and hence it is that
 the Western part of Yezo has
 so many dangerous places
 about it. So runs the tale."

FEUDAL LAND TENURE IN TOSA.

 BY THE REV. R. B. GRINNAN.

 [Read 28th April, 1892.]

The history of the land tenure of a country is always closely connected with its political development. This is especially true of ancient times, for then land was the sole or principal source of wealth and power, and came naturally into the hands of the strongest and therefore the ruling class. It is necessary, in order to fully understand the question before us, to inquire who the early rulers of Tosa were, and by what means their authority was maintained. But here as elsewhere early history is obscure, and even with the help of old land-marks it is difficult to obtain more than mere suggestions respecting either the political relations of the time or the early systems of land holding.

Before the time of Chōsokabe Motochika there does not appear to have been any one lord ruling the whole island of Shikoku as under the *daimyō* of the Tokugawa regime. There were *kokushi* (governors) who were appointed by the Emperors, but their authority over the under lords was never great. Their rule was rather nominal than real. When it was that these *kokushi* were first sent to Tosa I do not know. My information on this

subject has been obtained chiefly from a book called "The Rise and Fall of Chōsokabe" (Chōsokabe no Seisnuki) and this history does not antedate the entrance of that family into Tosa. Before speaking at length of this Chōsokabe family I wish to call attention to the family of Ichijō, from which sprang the longest and most important line of *kokushi* known in Tosa. The Ichijō were of *kuge* origin. At the time of the "Ōjin no ran," (Rebellion of Ōjin) a *kuge* named Ichijō Kazubusa fled from Kyoto and hid himself in Hyogo. Chōsokabe Fumikane of Tosa, hearing of his whereabouts, went to see him and persuaded him to return in his company to Tosa. His reason for performing this act of kindness was that Kazubusa's father had once taught him certain necessary laws of court etiquette while he was visiting in Kyoto. It seems, further, that Fumikane sought to strengthen himself by means of the friendship of a man of high *kuge* rank. The contending lords of Tosa had been in the habit of securing *monbatsu* or men of good family, when opportunity offered, with a view to strengthening their positions socially and politically. After his arrival in Tosa, Kazubusa lived for two years in the castle of Ōko, to which place came the various under lords to pay him their respects. He was afterwards appointed *kokushi* of Tosa, and it was arranged that he should live in the castle of Nakamura, situated in what is now known as Hatagōri. From this time on for several generations the Ichijō family lived in the castle of Nakamura and were the *kokushi* of Tosa. No great interest attaches to any of them, except it be to Yasumasa, who became a Christian, as his name also seems to imply. It was for this reason that he was banished to Usaki in Bungo, where he remained, marrying the daughter of a Christian *daimyō*. Ichijō Tomomasa was the last of this family to become *kokushi*. He was banished by Chōsokabe Motochika to Iyo, where he died. These *kokushi* were the first to classify the lands so that the proper amount of tax could be collected for the Government

in Kyoto. They greatly promoted the progress of the country by assisting and directing in the opening up of new lands for cultivation and in the building of proper river embankments.

SHUGOKOKUSHI.

Under the *kokushi* were the *shugokokushi* who were the real native lords of Tosa. They were small *daimyō* who had in various ways risen to power, and they were constantly contending among themselves for supremacy. They paid homage to the *kokushi* and tribute to the Emperor, and after that they were unmolested in their wars one with another. There were seven of these under lords, whose names and places of residence are as follows :—

JOSHU.

Aki,	who lived in Akigori in Aki no shiro (castle).
Tsumo,	“ “ Takaokagori in Hayama no shiro.
Ōhisa,	“ “ “ “ Hasuike “ “
Chōsokabe,	who lived in Nagaokagori in Ōkō no shiro.
Kira,	“ “ “ Agawagori “ Kiragamine.
Yamada,	“ “ “ Kagamigori “ Yamada.
Motoyama	“ “ “ Asakura.

From what date these *shugokokushi* existed as such I do not know, but they were probably the seven leading under lords from the beginning of the rule of the Ichijō family. They helped materially in opening up the country for cultivation, and in laying out the *honden* (chief lands) as these were afterwards found by Yamaguchi when he went to Tosa. Of the seven the family which rose to greatest power and influence was that of Chōsokabe. It was of Chinese origin and of very high rank. It is said that Kōman Ō, of China, came to Japan in 199 A.D., but for what purpose is not known. He was a great-great-grandson of Shikotei, who built

the great wall of China. Shintoku Ō, the son of Kōman Ō, came to Japan in A. D. 283 and received from the Emperor the name of Hada. He became a resident, it is said, of the province of Yamato. In the 84th generation (*dai*) from Shintoku Ō appeared one named Hada Yoshitoshi, who was sent as a *kokushi* to Tosa. The office was not continued to his descendants. Nevertheless they remained in Tosa where they became *shugokokushi*, and the possessors of much landed and other property. They lived for long in Sogabe *mura*, near the present town of Asaoka, and there the family came to be called by the name of Chōsokabe. By far the most famous and powerful of them all was Chōsokabe Motochika. He was of the 21st generation (*dai*) from Yoshitoshi, the first of the family to go to Tosa. He succeeded in driving out the Ichijō family from Hatagori, and in subduing to himself all of the *shugokokushi* in Tosa, and finally in obtaining control of the whole island of Shikoku. Hideyoshi, (1536-1598) fearing the growing influence of this man, restricted him by force to the single province of Tosa. At first Chōsokabe Motochika lived at Ōko Castle, which was built on a hill a few miles to the north-east of the city of Kochi. He afterwards lived in the castle of Urado, which stands at the entrance of the Kochi Harbor. He was both a great general and a wise ruler. He established many laws of importance, and opened up a great deal of the country which, until his time, had been left uncultivated. His son Chōsokabe Morichika became the lord of Tosa, but for siding against Iyeyasu in the battle of Sekigahara (1600 A. D.) he was deposed and his daimiate given to a man named Yamanouchi Katsutaro.

SHIKE.

Under the *kokushi* and subject to them there were also *shike*, Yotsu no iri, who were lesser lords than the *shugo*-

kokushi. Four families of these were prominent in early Tosan history, viz. :—

Mori,	which lived in Ushinoe no shiro.
Kunisawa,	“ “ “ Odakasaka no higashi.
Chiya,	“ “ “ Kagamigori Takama no shiro.
Kaido,	“ “ “ Kaida Sawa no shiro.

KOKUSHI (KUNI NO SAMURAI.)

There were also forty-five *kokushi* who were a kind of *samurai* under the *kokushi* (governors). They lived in very small castles and were owners of the surrounding lands.¹

THE YAMAUCHI RÉGIME.

As stated above, Ieyasu gave the daimiate of Tosa to Yamanouchi Katsutoyo, who with his descendants ruled the province down to the time of the Restoration. Yamanouchi was accompanied to Tosa by his former *samurai*, but as these were insufficient in number, he hired other *samurai* from various quarters to go with him. His native place had been Kakegawa in Enshū (Totomi), where he was only a small *daimyō*. Previous to the battle of Sekigahara this Yamanouchi had loaned his castle to Iyeyasu, and had otherwise rendered him valuable assistance, and his promotion was a natural consequence. The daimiate of Tosa was rated at about 240,000 *koku* of rice. To say, however, that Tosa was a 240,000 *koku* daimiate does not mean necessarily that land producing this quantity of rice was actually enjoyed by the *daimyō* himself. The account seems

¹ The history thus far is gathered from the above-mentioned book. For collecting and verifying the statements made in the remainder of this article I am indebted to Mr. Shibata Kanichiro, a former *karo*, and Mr. Hosokawa Gisshō, a former *gōshi*.

to have included what was allotted to the *karō* (see below), who only gave to the upper lord a military contingent in time of war. When Yamanouchi Katsutoyo took possession of Tosa, he employed a man named Nonaka, a civil engineer, very skilful for that day, who went with him as his best *kerai* (vassal). This man did a great deal of important work on the water courses, i.e., in the building of river embankments and in digging canals for the proper irrigation of rice fields. He dug what is still called the Shinkawa (New River), which has been of immense benefit to the section of country through which it passes. It is said that Nonaka, in order to get the proper gradient for the canal, arranged a line of lanterns along the proposed course and was thereby enabled to obtain a satisfactory survey.

Let us now consider the feudal system under the Yamanouchi regime. Nearest to the *daimyō* came a sort of cabinet, consisting of three *bugyō* (superintendents), while the body of the retainers was made up of *karō*, *shikaku* (samurai), *gōshi* (country warriors), and *keikaku* (country gentry). I will describe these in the order named.

KARŌ.

When Yamanouchi Katsutoyo was sent to Tosa, the Shōgun sent also *karō* of rank to act as checks upon him. They possessed a rather extended power under the *daimyō*. They owned lands, and had their own *samurai* and their own farmers also, who paid taxes to the *karō* only, not to the *daimyō*. There were eleven *karō* in all; eight of whom lived in the *jōka* or castle-town (Kochi), and owned land in various places throughout the country; the remaining three living in the country; namely, in Nakamura, in Sakawa, and in Aki, where they had castles of their own. These were practically under-lords, the *karō* of Sakawa being the most powerful. His income was rated at 10,000 *koku* of rice, and made him the subject of jealous

concern to the *daimyō*. The other *karō* had incomes varying from 10,000 to 2,000 *koku*. None received less than the latter amount. The *karō* did not render service to the *daimyō* by means of a tax paid in rice, but by providing him with a military contingent when called upon to do so.

SHIKAKU.²

The *shikaku*, or *samurai* owing allegiance directly to the *daimyō*, were of different ranks and all lived in the *jōka*. The upper class wore the two swords and might ride on horses, in time of peace and of war. It was necessary for them to own a certain number of horses in accordance with their rank. They were paid not in rice but by receiving a certain amount of *honden* or *shinden* (see below), which was allotted to each man according to the number of *koku* of rice to which his rank entitled him. The lower classes of *samurai* were paid in rice, not in lands; they wore their two swords, but were

² Classes of *samurai*. I will give first the ranks according to the payment that was received. The *samurai* who received lands and not rice from the *daimyō's kura* were called *jikata tori*, and the lands were called *chigyō*; for example: it was said that a man was paid with so much *chigyō*, that is so much *honden* or *shinden*. Those *samurai* who were paid according to *kokusu* from the *kura* of the *daimyō* were called *kura chi tori*. There were also *samurai* who received *fuchi kippu*, which was the rice given from the *kura* of the *daimyō*, but not according to the *kokusu* (number of *koku*). *Ichininfuchi* was an allowance of 5 *go* of rice for one person for one day, and *samurai* were rated to receive so many *fuchi*; for example a man would receive *gonin fuchi*, which would be 25 *go* of rice per day. Those who received the *fuchi kippu* generally also received an addition according to the *kokusu*.

Next below the *daimyō* of course were the *karō*; below them came the first class of the *samurai* proper, who were called *churō*. The *churō* were all paid in first class *chigyō*.

The next rank was called *uma mawari*, some of whom received *chugyō* and were allowed to ride on horses. In this class were men who were paid with rice from the *daimyō's kura*, but were not allowed

not permitted to ride on horses in time either of peace or of war. *Honden* and *shinden* were lands which a *samurai* or in fact any one could own in his own name, but of these I will speak further on.

GŌSHI.

When Yamanouchi Katsutaro was sent to Tosa, about one hundred of the *kerai* of Chōsokabe Motochika submitted gracefully to the new government and became *gōshi* (country warriors), a class that is unique in the annals of Japanese feudalism. They were left in undisputed possession of the lands they had received from Chōsokabe. Their number was strictly limited, at first to one hundred, as stated above, but after a time new *gōshi* were created and the number was increased to eight hundred, where it

to ride on horses. These latter were not paid in full accordance with their rank. They carried the name of this rank without having the highest privileges of the rank.

The next rank was called *koshōgumi*. Those in this rank were nearly all *kura chitori*.

The lowest rank was called *rusuigumi*. The men in this rank were divided, some were *jikatatori*, and some were paid in rice. Those who were paid in *chigyō* were men who had been *gōshi* for 30 years and had been raised to the class of *samurai*. After a man had been a *gōshi* for 30 years he became a *samurai* and in such cases his *ryōchi* became *yaguchi*.

All the classes of *samurai* below the *uma mawari* were called *keishi*.

The difference between the lower class *samurai*, who receive *fuchi kippu* and the *keikaku* who were also paid in rice, was in rank. The *keikaku* (who did not do farm work), had always to give way to the *samurai*. All *samurai* on the first day of each month went and paid their respects to the *daimyō* but the *keikaku* were not permitted into the presence of the *daimyō*. They were allowed to pay their respects from a distance only on the first day of the year.

The *kerai* of the *karō* were nearly all *jikatatori*.

remained. Among the *gōshi* the right of primogeniture obtained, the eldest son inheriting the lands and name of his father, while the remaining children fell to the *heimin* (commoners) class and for the most part became farmers. If a *gōshi* wished to sell his name, position, and lands he could do so with the permission of the *daimyō*, and in this case the buyer, even though he were but a farmer, obtained all the privileges connected with the estate he received. A *gōshi* might, if he wished sell part of his landed property and still retain his rank; but if he sold all, he was *ipso facto* reduced to the status of a *heimin*. The position of the *gōshi* was midway between that of the *samurai* and the *keikaku* (see below). They owned lands, wore two swords, owned and rode horses, and went to war when called out by the *daimyō*. Their followers were only common farmers possessing no rank whatever. The *gōshi* became for the most part men of wealth, and they still retain their lands, which escaped the general confiscation at the time of the Restoration. The reason for this exception in their favor was that these lands had not been received from the Tokugawa Government, but had been held over from the olden time—the time of the Chōsokabe. The *gōshi* have long wielded a commanding influence in Tosa.

KEIKAKU.

Besides the *gōshi* and the *samurai* there were *keikaku*, a class of country gentry, who ranked below the *samurai* and *gōshi*, but above the common farming class. They did not live in the *jōka* with the *samurai*, but on the outskirts of the city and in country towns that lay within a day's call of the *jōka*. They were paid by an allowance of rice, and were permitted to wear the two swords but not to ride on horses.

FARMERS.

The farmers lived upon and tilled all the land of the province and paid a rent directly to the *daimyō*, *karō*, or *samurai* according as the land was of one or other of certain classes to be noted presently. The renters of *honden* drew lots every four years for plots of land under general cultivation; but from such quadrennial change house lands were excepted. The right to the *kujibun* (lot share) or plot of *honden* land thus subject to exchange could be bought and sold at will. This exchange by lot took place on all *honden*, whether it was held immediately of the *daimyō* or of some *samurai* to whom it had been allotted. Whatever changes took place in ownership of this land, the tenant held his *kujibun* and remained as before. One *kujibun* was on an average about eight *tan* (1 *tan*=about $\frac{1}{4}$ acre), in extent but varied somewhat. Farmers were not evicted except for very good reasons, such as incapacity as cultivators or the non-payment of rent. A *samurai* was permitted to make changes among his lease-holders after giving fair notice of his intention, and tenants could also sell out their rights to others by properly notifying the land owners. It should be added that farmers did not fight in time of war, but only carried burdens and performed manual labor.

DIVISIONS OF THE LAND.³

We next consider the different classes of land. First was the *honden*, (chief, original-land) the most valuable land in the province. The earliest cultivators of the soil

³ The *kasakunin* were only those who rented lands owned by the farmers. There were no *kasakunin* on the *daimyō's* lands. Each *shoya* of the *mura* arranged for the rental of the lands to farmers who worked the lands themselves and did not sub-rent them.

Lands owned by the farmers personally were divided into the *uwatsuchi* and *sokotsuchi*. The *sokotsuchi* was the earth below the upper

naturally first cleared up the fertile low-lands and these were marked off by the *kokushi* before the time of Chōsokabe Motochika, in order, as has been said, that the proper amount of tax could be collected for the central Government. By opening up new country to cultivation they added to these lands, as did also Chōsokabe Motochika when he became a *daimyō*. When Yamanouchi Katsutoyo went to Tosa, these *honden* were rated as producing 240,000 *roku* of rice, the amount at which the *daimiate* was accordingly scheduled. These *honden* could not be bought and sold, but parts of them were assigned to the higher class *samurai*, from which they received their annual supply of rice. Some portions also must have been held by the *karō*, but the bulk of them supplied the rice that went directly into the storehouse of the *daimyō*. The *shinden* (new-land) were lands cleared up after Yamanouchi Katsutoyo received the *daimiate*. They were not as valuable as the *honden* but were easily the next best lands. They could not be bought and sold, but, like the *honden*, had been partly allotted to the higher class *samurai*, not as property, but simply as lands from which their portions of rice should come.

The *yaguchi* were lands that had been opened up by the *samurai* themselves, and therefore belonged to them. The *samurai*, who themselves were not allowed to work, had *kunigashira* (headmen) to look after the tenants and

strata of 3 ft. The *uwatsuchi* was the upper strata of 3 feet of earth, which was supposed to have been enriched by manuring during cultivation. The farmer who really was the original owner of the land often owned only the *sokotsuchi*, the *uwatsuchi* being owned by the *kasakunin* who had cultivated the land. This *uwatsuchi* was bought and sold without any change in the *sokotsuchi mochi*. After a *kasakunin* had cultivated the land for about 20 years he could not be evicted from the land but the *uwatsuchi* became his own. At the time of the Restoration all *kasakunin* who had cultivated the land for 20 years became *uwatsuchi mochi*.

their farming interests generally. These lands were transferable but were not as valuable as either *honden* or *shinden*, because they were for the most part in mountainous regions. For example, a *samurai* would buy a mountain from the Government and clear it up for cultivation, and this would then become his *yaguchi*. In some cases these lands seem to have been given to the *samurai* by the *daimyo*. *Ryochi* were the new lands cleared up and owned by the *gōshi*. They also, like the *yaguchi*, were mountainous. If a *gōshi* became a *samurai*, he gave up his *ryochi* and received it back as *yaguchi* or if *ryochi* was sold to a *samurai* it became *yaguchi*, and vice versa. The *gōshi* worked these lands themselves, and bought and sold them at pleasure. There were also certain lands, which ordinary farmers would buy and hold in their own names, and they constituted a sort of *shinden*, though not the true *shinden*, which could in no case be bought or sold. The farmers' *shinden* was generally mountainous land, opened up by themselves with the direct permission of the *daimyō*. Sometimes, when a farmer could not get this necessary permission, he would borrow the name of a *gōshi* and carry on the work in that name, because (and very naturally) it was easier for a *gōshi* to get the permission than for a common farmer. Sometimes farmers opened up new lands secretly, so as to escape the tax; if this was detected, they were punished by fines. The whole of the land owned by farmers was not always contiguous. The plots were often in various places, according as they had been bought or opened up. Obviously the relative fertility of the soil in different sections would influence the clearing of the land. In addition to the foregoing, there were mountainous lands owned by the *mura*, but the great mass of mountain land was owned by the *daimyō* of the province. The *karō* had large sections of country allotted to them, so that their holdings

contained both lowlands and uplands—lands indeed that could be classed as *honden*, *shinden*, or mountain land. Over these they held complete control. From what has been said it will be seen that, with the exception of the lands of *karō* and *gōshi*, all the best land was under the direct control of the *daimyō* and could neither be bought nor sold. Only the less valuable mountain lands could be owned by the people and hence only such lands were transferable. The lands of the *daimyō* were all worked by tenants, and there was no distinction made between land which provided the lord's own rice and lands to provide rice for the *samurai*. This of course does not include lands specially allotted to upper class *samurai* for their support. Rice that was destined for the *daimyō's* private table was grown upon land that was set apart for that especial purpose.

Considering the division of the lands from another standpoint, there were *yashikichi* (house lands), which of course were uncultivated; *ta* (rice fields); and *hata* or *hatake* (up-lands), where wheat and barley with vegetables of various kinds were produced. In addition to these there were grass-lands, not on the plains, but on mountains, where the people of the *mura* gathered grass for forage and for making manure. These lands were generally owned by the *mura*. Upon the mountains there were *hara* (waste-land) and also large forests, both of which classes of land belonged to the *daimyō*. The uncultivated lands were very extensive owing to the extremely mountainous character of the country.

The arable lands were divided into districts called *azana*. The size of these *azana* varied according to the manner and extent in which the land had been originally cleared up. They served no other purpose than that of marking off and naming for the sake of convenience the various districts of the *mura*. These names are often associated with the men who originally cleared up the land;

for example *Torube Honden*, or *Torube Shinden*. The small divisions between the plots of land were called *aze*. These plots varied in size according to the slope as leveled for irrigation purposes, but none of them were large. The narrow *aze* were subject to change, but the broad ones could not be removed, as they marked the larger divisions. Smaller plots were designated by their *bangō* (number); for example *Torube Honden* No. 1 and No. 2, or *Torube Shinden* No. 3 and No. 4, etc.

MURA.

The *mura* or village is the only other division of the country which we need to consider, and it is one of the most important. Under the *kokushi* (that is, practically, at least as late as Yoritomo's time), the following arrangement obtained with regard to the *mura*. One man cultivated eight *tan*, and this was called *ichimyo*, (one-name). The amount differed in different *mura*; in some it was only 5 or 6 *tan*. Next, five men were associated under one head man, and the combination was called *go-myo* (five-names). These five men were banded together to help one another in case of need, and any small difficulties which arose among them were settled by the headman. Ten of these *gomyo*, numbering in all 50 men, were united under one headman and constituted the *gojiu myo* (fifty-names) or *isson* (one *mura*). The headman of the 50 was the headman of the *mura*, and had the general oversight of its affairs, settling all difficulties of importance that arose therein. Taxes were rated by the government not on the farmer directly but on the *mura* as such, each *mura* paying a certain fixed amount annually to the government officials. If any man was unable to pay his portion of the taxes, it had to be made up by his associates. It appears that in many cases the headmen of the *gojiu-myo* became wealthy and influential members of

society. Some of them even developed into petty lords. These men, whenever possible, allied themselves with *monbatsu* (men of good blood) from the other provinces, whose association secured for them a dignity not otherwise obtainable, and thus gave prestige to families that were originally of humble origin. In later times, under the Yamanouchi regime, the divisions known as *mura* were territorially of various sizes, according to the population of the country, to the situation of the lands in mountains or plains, or to previously existing social and political arrangements. Some *mura*, where the populations were sparse, extended over broad sections of country and possessed no real village centre. Other *mura* were restricted within narrow limits, consisting only of small collections of houses together with the adjacent fields. In some the houses were built together on one long street, and again in others they were scattered about among rice fields, and connected by mere paths along the *aze*. Thus it appears that there was no fixed rule for the size of a *mura* or for the arrangement of the houses of its inhabitants. Thus to understand the situation fully, we must not think of the *mura* as a collection of houses in one village, but rather as a territorial division of the country. The power of the *shōya* and *toshiyori* varied in different *mura*. The *gyōseikwan* and *shihōkan* were *han*-officials, not *mura*. The power of these officials up to a certain limit were exercised by the *shōya*. The head man of the *mura* was called the *shōya*, and was appointed by the *daimyō*. This office was for life and was hereditary. The family of the *shōya sama* was the most honored in the *mura*. It seems further that a man was more honored on account of his ancestors than of the land he might possess. Next to the *shōya* were the *toshiyori* (elders); these were paid in some places. There were also *gyōseikwan kori bugyo* (executive officers) and *shihōkwan* (judges). These various officials settled all the troubles of the *mura*. There were also *kumigashira*, unpaid company

chief, who looked after the lauds generally throughout the *mura*. In addition to these there were *gonin-gashira* (five men-chief) having the oversight of certain village subdivisions. They were, however, not limited in their oversight to five men, as the name would seem to imply. The office must have been derived from the headman of the *gomyo*, in the time of the *kokushi*, the number five being retained in the name while the real sphere of the office was enlarged. There were no elections in the *mura*, nor was there a *yoriai* (assembly); the *toshiyori* and *kunigashira* were elected; and an assembly each year or at the time of a family festival, or there was a part *mura*. All executive business was transacted by the various officers. In the *mura* each farmer worked the land that he had rented, but the *mura* as a whole often owned mountain lands, called *kyoyazan*. The *mura* also often owned so-called *shinden* (land of the gods), the rice from which was either made into *sake* to be used on *matsuri* occasions, or was sold in order to obtain money for the expenses of the various *matsuri*. Each *mura* had to pay a settled amount of tax in rice, and this was collected, not by the *mura* officials, but by the tax collectors of the *daimyō*.

TAX (RENT).

The tax on *honden* and *shinden* would more properly be called a rent. If the land was held directly from the *daimyō* the rent was of course paid to him; but in the cases of upper class *samurai* the rent was paid directly to them, the *daimyō* receiving none of it. The *samurai* and *gōshio* who owned *yaguchi* and *ryōchi* paid no tax to the *daimyō* for these lands. They received rent from the tenants—all of which they kept for their own use. All farmers or *keikaku* who owned land paid taxes thereon to the *daimyō*. The tenants occupying the land of a *karō* paid their rent directly to him, and he passed none of it on to

the *daimyō*. All rents were paid in rice. Even in certain places where water rice could not be produced, an amount of rice was brought in based on the amount of dry land rice that could be produced there, whether the product of the land was in fact rice or not. This latter was not true of all lands that could produce dry land rice, but only of some very fertile low lands where there was a lack of water. Thus, though the rents were paid in rice, they were based not on rice as the actual product, but on rice as the standard of measurement of fertility. For example, if a renter had rice land assessed to produce twenty *koku* of rice, he had to bring in, say, three-fifths of that amount in rice whether he produced rice or something else on the land. From some of the very mountainous districts from which it was difficult to bring rice the rent could sometimes be paid in money. The price of the lands and the amount of rent to be paid was determined in accordance with the amount of rice the land could produce. If it was very good land, the rent was high and vice versa. Neither the valuation of the land nor the rent changed with the market; these values had been settled and oftentimes continued the same for many years and even for centuries.

For example, if a piece of land ought by the estimate to give ten *koku* of rice in rent, that amount was always required, even in cases of partial failure of crops. If, however, the farmer's loss was excessive, the amount of rent required was lessened, in accordance with the law of human fairness. The amount of reduction was generally settled by the officials and the farmers before the rice was cut. If no agreement could be made beforehand, the amount of rent was decided on by the officials after the harvest. Some times a portion of the crop would be cut and threshed out in the presence of officers of the law to let them see what the yield would probably be, and according to this an average was struck for the remainder. The rent was never wholly remitted. The amount of rice which the

tenant must pay was known beforehand by both parties to the contract, and the tenant on paying the rent received his receipt for the same. There were large *kura* (store-houses) in Kōchi for the storage of the rice, and thither on set days the farmers brought their quota on horses gaily caparisoned with blue, red, and yellow trappings, and with tails tied up in long and variegated bags. The amount of rent paid on *honden* was on an average three-fifths of what the land could produce. That on *shinden* was less, averaging only two-fifths of the land's productive capacity. The tenants on the *yaguchi* of the *samurai* paid about four-fifths of the rice produced,—a heavy rent it would seem; and yet we must remember that, besides the one crop of rice, vegetables and also a crop of barley or wheat could be produced annually on the same land, and for these latter no rent was taken. If the government or *samurai* cleared up land for cultivation, the rent was determined by taking the average of the crops raised during three years. Sometimes a tenant would undertake to clear up land for cultivation on the understanding that no rent at all would be expected until after a certain number of years, greater or smaller, according to the expense of the clearing. Land owners could not at their pleasure raise their rents. If this were attempted, appeal would be made to the government. Sometimes, however, the land owners combined and raised rents, and generally the government granted its permission. In addition to the tax on rice lands, fish sold in the market were taxed (as indeed is the case to-day). This tax was first imposed by Chōsokabe Motochika. The sale of paper and of cloth for clothing was also subject to the imposition of taxes. In the *jōka* dwelling-house lands were free. The merchants as a class possessed their own houses and engaged in trade, subject to no tax at all, but, as elsewhere in Japan in olden time, they had to be very polite to the *samurai* on penalty of losing their heads and having their property

appropriated. There was further a kind of tax called *tayaku*. It consisted of compulsory work upon the water-courses or public works of various kinds or the castle. This work was done annually by those tenants who occupied the *honden*. In very early days it had been assigned to the *samurai*, but being distasteful to them their farmers were hired to do it in their stead, each man receiving as his wage one *shō* of rice per day. At first the farmers were very glad of the opportunity to so add to their incomes, but in time the pay became relatively too small for the work done and they wished to withdraw from the bargain, but were not permitted to do so. As I have just remarked, this *tayaku* was connected with the *honden* only. Elsewhere the farmers were compelled to do the work on the water-courses without any remuneration whatever.

INHERITANCE.

The general law of inheritance amongst all classes was that of primogeniture, the eldest son of a property holder inheriting all at the father's death. When a man died without an heir his land reverted to the *daimyō*. As already stated, the eldest son of a *yōshi* inherited his father's position and property, and the younger sons became *heimin*. However, if there were no sons, the husband of the eldest daughter could as *yōshi* (adopted son) inherit both rank and property. When a tenant died, the continued cultivation of the land by his children depended on the circumstances of the case, or on the will of the *kunigashira* if the land belonged to a *samurai*. However, if the children were able to do the work and pay the required rent, they generally remained in possession.

Sometimes, when the eldest child was a daughter and the sons turned out badly, the father could by permission of the government adopt a son to become the daughter's

husband and make him the heir of his estate. With regard to adoption, if a father died without having selected a *yōshi*, no one could be subsequently chosen by the family and possess himself of the privileges of adoption and the estate consequently reverted to the lord; but if a selection had been made before the father's death, it could be formally ratified, provided permission was obtained from the government before the burial took place. After the burial permission was not obtainable. Hence it sometimes happened that a man's dead body was kept for eight or ten days, awaiting the government's permission for the adoption of a *yōshi* who had been selected but not as yet formally installed.

There were no banks in Tosa, but *riyōguya* (money changers) abounded. Money could be borrowed from individuals, and lands and goods were mortgaged to obtain it. It seems, however, that money was often borrowed on the simple promise to repay, which was considered a sufficient guarantee; for among *samurai* if a man could not keep such a promise he committed *harakiri* rather than bear the disgrace of a broken bond.

Trade between Tosa and other provinces was very limited in extent, for there was a law prohibiting general exportation, and only a few articles were allowed to be sent abroad; and even in these the trade was permitted only to a chosen few. Similar restrictions conditioned importation. A few tradesmen in Osaka were permitted to send certain articles that were needed in the province, and that was all. Therefore, as was the case throughout Japan in pre-revolution days, the province of Tosa lived its own secluded life and the more readily developed a peculiar and striking individuality,—the traces of which are still so prominent in its social life and its politics.

SUMA MURA FIFTY YEARS AGO.

 BY MISS HANNAH M. BIRKENHEAD.

[Read 28th April, 1892.]

The Province of Settsu, in which Suma is situated, was under the direct rule of the *Shōgun*. The chief officers were *Shoshidai*, *Bugyō* and *Daikwan*. These were all *Hatamoto* when in Yedo. There was one *Shoshidai* (Kyoto), one *Bugyō* (Ōsaka), but many *Daikwan*. One of the last had charge of Hyōgo and Suma.

The *Daikwan's* duties were to gather rice, to settle disputes, to act as spy, and to prevent neighbouring *Daimyōs* from combining against the Tokugawa. If the *Daikwan* held his appointment directly from the *Shōgun* the rice was sent to Yedo; if from *Shoshidai*, to Kyōto; if from *Bugyō*, to Ōsaka, or to a store-house at Hyōgo to wait till a sufficient quantity had been gathered before sending away.

Suma was itself a *mura*, extending from Myōhoji River on the east to Sakai River, Harima, on the west; and from Tainahata *mura* on the north to the sea on the south. It was divided into East and West, and it is thought the original *mura* was situated in the middle. There was a street of dwellings—a continuation of the Tōkaidō—with scattered farms outside.

LAND-OWNERS.

Fifty years ago there were six great land-owners in Suma. Mayeda Sakujirō and Naoe Tôzaemon in the west, Matsuda Gimbe, Tomokuni Magozaemon, Edamitsu Magozaemon in the east, and Tomokuni Zingozaemon in the north. Mayeda was the richest. He was *Shōya* or Headman, and was allowed to wear one sword. His fame was celebrated in verse as follows:—

Saite shiworete,
Mata sakuhana wa,
Suma no Mayeda no
Kakitsubata."

(The flower which, having opened and withered, blooms again is the iris of Mayeda of Suma).

And again:—

" Suma no Mayeda no
Kakitsu no naka ni
Ayame saku to wa
Shirananda."

(We did not know the sweet-flag would grow among Mayeda's irises). Mayeda could pass from the eastern to the western boundaries of Suma without leaving his own land. The Empress Jingukogo is said to have passed through Suma on her way to Corea (202 A. D.), and to have visited his ancestor's house. When the battle of Ichi-no-Tani, fought at Suma between Genji and Heike, is represented in drama, this once famous land-owner is always among the characters personated. The irises are still flourishing in the ditch in front of Mayeda's house, but the old home has lost its glory. It is now a small tea-house kept by the latest representative of the once honoured name.

The large land-owners had no special privileges, but they were indirectly influential. They were eligible for the office of headman. This position they sometimes got

by appointment, sometimes by payment. The headman was allowed to build his house in a special style, peculiar to the *Shōya*. Several of the men who held this position became rich by cutting down and selling trees belonging to the Government, which had been placed under their care, and which the people were not permitted to touch. The *Shōya* claimed annually six *koku* of rice from the villagers. There were six or seven Elders (*Toshiyori*), but they received no remuneration. The *Shōya* and Elders alone sat in the Village Assembly and voted.

The only inhabitants of the *mura* not engaged in agriculture were fishermen, and a few *kago-kaki* (carriers).

Among present land-owners in Suma, Naoe Tōzaemon in the west, and Tomokuni and Edamitsu in the east, claim to have held their ground the longest. Lately, in East Suma, an old tombstone was unearthed, with a date of about 1,200 years ago, and the name Tomokuni Tarōzaemon.

CROPS.

The chief productions were rice, wheat, and vegetables of various kinds. Rice was cultivated from May to August, wheat from August to May, on the same fields—"ta" land. Beans were grown in summer, and *daikon*, cabbages, and other vegetables in winter—on *hatake* fields.

The most famous vegetable production of Suma—the *meibutsu*—was water-melon. It was peculiar in having red seeds, the melon of other places generally having black ones.

POSSESSION OF LAND AND RENT.

Each farmer had land in several parts of the *mura*, and took new ground as he needed it. In case of shifting, a middleman was employed, and a written account of the

transfer was exchanged by the parties concerned. The affair was reported to the *Shōya*, so that at the time of gathering rice he might know what land each farmer had. An examination was held for this purpose every spring.

The rent was about one *koku* five *to* for each *tan*, a reduction of two or three *to* being made for poor ground. The rate of rent was settled by arbitration, the people of East Suma being always more quarrelsome than those of the West.

Land could be leased for any length of time. If a tenant did not pay his rent the owner could take the ground back, but this was a rare occurrence.

TEMPLE LANDS.

There were four temples in Suma: Genkōji, Myokōji, Jōtokuji, and Suma-dera. The last was the largest, and owned two *chō* of land. All had received their ground from the Shōgunate. Genkōji had many members, who made it rich with their offerings. The temple lands could not be taxed. All these were taken by Government at the Restoration except the grounds occupied by temple buildings, which are still free of taxation.

Suma-dera was founded by Hideyori, the son of the great Taiko Hideyoshi. Its priests had formerly political as well as religious influence, and were treated with great respect by the people.

After the Restoration the farmers gave four *tan* of land to Jōtokuji, and three *tan* to Myokōji.

Expenses for repairing the temple were drawn from the central temple in Yedo.

The lands were originally cultivated by priests, but afterwards by hired labourers.

The priests had no right to sell or mortgage their lands, but they sometimes did so unlawfully. They could let ground to farmers, who paid for it at the usual rate.

TAXES.

Before the Restoration taxes were paid according to the estimated producing power of the land, partly in money, but chiefly in rice. The *Daikwan* made an examination and then gave a written statement of the amount due to the Government. (Appended is a translation of one of these documents.) The *Daikwan* could not be oppressive, as he had to consult with the *Shōya* and Elders of the *mura*. In time of calamity the Government excused those who were not able to pay their taxes.

The people seem to have been peaceable and diligent, and there has never been any great struggle in Suma.

Now, taxes are paid for the land itself, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ % of its value, without regard to crops.

RECLAIMED LAND.

There was land without owners which was cultivated by persons who took the crops and paid the taxes. At the Restoration the ground became the property of those persons. One such place was *Tsuki-mi-Yama*, which now belongs partly to Government and partly to the people.

When the Shōgunate was abolished, the extent of land allotted to each person was changed by Government order. This was formerly settled by *Shōya*, who did it rather arbitrarily.

FENCING AND DRAINAGE.

When two persons wished to divide their lands by fences, each man made one on his own ground, and a free

path, one *shaku* wide, was left between. Both men were afterwards responsible for the keeping of the intermediate roadway in good condition.

Suma has a dry, sandy soil. Its fields were formerly supplied with water by means of ponds near the sea, and wells on the mountain side. When the ponds or wells got out of order they were restored at the expense of the Government. In these days the farmers themselves have to pay for such repairs.

Near Mayeda's house is a famous well called "Sugaido," the name having been given by Prince Sugawara Michizone. In winter, the water of this well keeps a certain level, but in summer it overflows, and helps to irrigate the fields.

The place where Suma railway station now stands was in olden days covered by the sea.

DISASTERS.

The disasters were generally caused by storms or drought. The ones well remembered are :—

Meiji, 16th Year.—Drought, which ruined rice and vegetables.

" 17th " Too much rain, making wheat rotten.

" 19th " Storm.

" 22nd " Drought.

" 24th " Storm.

The old people say it was much the same in their younger days. The big storm of 1891, the greatest during the last seventy years, did much damage in Suma. Government had to help the farmers, but such help is unusual now.

In entering Suma from the east, there is an aqueduct over which the river Tenjo runs. Sometimes the *mura* is partly flooded by that river.

SUCCESSION.

The eldest son of a family was generally the sole heir. When he came into possession it was customary for him to take his father's name. In this way, the head of one family would have the same personal and surnames for many generations. There was no law about succession except that it must be reported to the *Shōya*. It was not usual to make a will.

In regard to succession, women had no rights. When a father had a daughter but no son, the property was still kept in the father's name. If a son were adopted and made heir, he changed his name for that of his adoptive father.

If the eldest son's conduct was very bad, it was not an uncommon thing for the second son to take his position.

The heir had to pay all the debts of his ancestor, no matter how small the inheritance or how great the debts.

THE SUMA OF TO-DAY.

Land in Suma is now rapidly rising in value. The place is only five miles by rail from Kobe, and is becoming noted as a health resort. Wealthy foreigners are leasing ground on the hill sides or by the sea, and building country homes, where they can enjoy the fresh breezes and the sweet scent of the spruces, and from where they can watch the sea-birds flitting across the stormy Straits of Akashi, as in the good old days of the Tokugawa, when the people sang :—

“Awaji shima
Kayō chidori no
Naku koye ni
Ikuye nezamenu
Suma no sekimori,”

(The guards of the Suma barrier hear in their dreams the cries of the sea-birds going to and returning from the Island of Awaji).

NOTES.

Ta=grain land.

Hatake=vegetable gardens.

Aratame=changed, as to crops.

Shinden=newly opened land.

Okoshikaeshi=tilled ground.

Matsu-goki-tachi=pine trees and bushes.

Magusaba=pasture.

Honhata=upland fields.

Hatakata=hill-side.

Take-ko-tachi=forest of bamboo and other trees.

Matsu-ki-tachi=pine trees-

TRANSLATION.

The Fixed Taxes of *Ushidoshi*. For ten years from *Ushi* to *Inu*. Total amount 1,020 *koku*, 6 *to*, 4 *sho*.

Higashi Suma mura,
Yabegun, Settsu-no-kuni,

TA LAND.

Items.

930 *koku*, 9 *to*, 3 *sho*, 7 *go*. From this amount the following are taken out:

103 *koku*, 2 *to*, 3 *sho*, 3 *go*,=ground taken up by houses, ditches, dikes and wells;

2 *to*, 5 *sho*, 6 *go*=places where sand is deposited.

Net Amount, 827 *koku*, 4 *to*, 4 *sho*, 8 *go*.

Items.

Amount 801 *koku*, 4 *go* (=the value of the land measured by rice).

HONDEN.

596 *koku*, 8 *to*, 8 *sho*=tax.

The rate is 7 *shaku*, 4 *bu*, 5 *rin*, 2 *mo* (that is about $\frac{25}{100}$).

Amount, 6,970 *go*, Nennen Shinden.

3,700 *go*=tax5. 308 r.

Amount, 11. 151 *go* Mi.

5.120 *go*=tax4. 572 r.

Amount, 1. 182 *go*, "Inu," Aratame Shinden.

542 *go*=tax.4. 585 r.

Amount, 102 *go* "Inu, Mi." Shinden.

46 *go*=tax.4. 500 r.

Amount, 290 *go* "Mi, Hitsuji, Tori," Shinden.

181 *go*=tax.4. 500 r.

Amount, 416 *go* "Mi," Okoshikayeshi.

187 *go*=tax.....4.500 r.

Amount, 222 *go*. "Mi, Hitsuji, Tori" Shinden.

88 *go*=tax.....3.964 r.

Amount, 1.227 *go*. Last "I," Matsu *gaki tachi* okoshikaeshi.

128 *go*=tax.....1.000 r.

Amount, 3.549 *go*, "I" Okoshikayeshi.

218 *go*=tax600 r.

Amount, 1.335 *go*, Last "I" Magusaba okoshikaeshi.

40 *go*=tax300 r.

The whole amount of *ta* land is 607 *koku*, 7 *sho*=tax.

HATAKE LAND.

89 *koku*, 7 *to*, 3 *go*. In this there is 181 *go* of *ta* changed into *hatake* land. From the amount the following are deducted :—

120 *go*—for land on which the village storehouse stands.

32 *go*—for sand deposits, erosive banks, and land broken by the river.

Net Amount, 89 *koku*, 2 *to*, 8 *sho*, 1 *go*.

Items.

Amount, 70,588 <i>go</i> . Honhata.	
38.516 <i>go</i> =tax	5.4572 r.
Amount, 2,900 <i>go</i> . Shinyajichi.	
1,357 <i>go</i> =tax	6.493 r.
Amount, 520 <i>go</i> . Neunen Shinden.	
276 <i>go</i> =tax	5.808 r.
Amount, 679 <i>go</i> . "Inu," aratame Shinden.	
311 <i>go</i> =tax	4.584 r.
Amount, 1,219 <i>go</i> . "Mi, Hitsuji, Tori." Shinden.	
484 <i>go</i> =tax	3.970 r.
Amount, 152 <i>go</i> . "Inu, Hitsuji," Shinden.	
53 <i>go</i> =tax	3.500 r.
Amount, 131 <i>go</i> . "I"—The old "ta" land changed into <i>hatake</i> .	
46 <i>go</i> =tax	3.500 r.
Amount, 247 <i>go</i> . "Tori" Okoshikayeshi.	
842 <i>go</i> =tax	3.500 r.
Amount, 2,555 <i>go</i> . "Tori, U," Okoshikayeshi.	
824 <i>go</i> =tax	3.225 r.
Amount, 327 <i>go</i> . "Mi" Okoshikayeshi.	
105 <i>go</i> =tax	3.217 r.
Amount, 3,110 <i>go</i> . "Tori" Okoshikayeshi.	
933 <i>go</i> =tax	3.000 r.
Amount, 1,895 <i>go</i> . "Uma" Okoshikayeshi.	
474 <i>go</i> =tax	2.500 r.
Amount, 181 <i>go</i> . Last "I" Hatakata okoshikayeshi.	
36 <i>go</i> =tax	2.000 r.
Amount, 610 <i>go</i> . Last "I" Take kotachi okoshi- kayeshi.	
61 <i>go</i> =tax	1.000 r.
Amount, 2,822 <i>go</i> . Last "I" Magusaba okoshi- kayeshi.	
85 <i>go</i> =tax	3.000 r.
The whole amount of <i>hatake</i> land is 44 <i>koku</i> , 4 <i>to</i> , 3 <i>go</i> = tax.	

The tax on the best land is 651.473 *go*.

Amount 3 *koku*, 4 *to*, 6 *sho*, 6 *go*, all Shinden, in the same mura. From this 336 *go* is deducted as allowance for land broken by river and for sand deposits. Remaining amount 3,180 *go*.

Items.

Amount 2,566 *go* Honbata.

642 *go*=tax..... 2.502 r.

Amount 222 *go*. Last 'I' Matsuki tachi okoshikayeshi.

22 *go*=tax..... 1.000 r.

Amount 342 *go*. Okoshikayeshi.

20 *go*=tax..... 585 r.

Whole amount of taxes=684 *go*. 'Ta' land. Shinden of same mura.

Amount 835 *go*.

450 *go*=tax..... 5.389 r.

Total amount of taxes for Shinden, 1,194 *go*.

The total amount of taxes in rice is 652,607 *go*. 612,499 *go* is to be paid in silver; 490,108 *go* is to be paid in rice. Besides these there are:—

38 *momme*, 5 *bu*, silver

The Government forest grass tax;

615 *go*, rice.

Expenses for lodging of post horses;

2050 *go*, rice.

Expenses for nobles' 'kago' bearers;

153 *momme*, 7 *bu*, 4 *rin*, silver.

Expenses for Government store-houses.

FORESTS.—FIVE PLACES.

The area of land is 7½ *chō*, 9 *tan*, 7 *se*, 14 *bu*.

Total Rice—655,272 *go*—Silver, 192 *momme*, 2 *bu*, 4 *rin*.

The above being fixed, the farmers and tenants must meet and pay their taxes before the 15th of December.

(Signed) Ishibara Shiozaburō. (*Daikwan*).

October, 9th year of Kansei.





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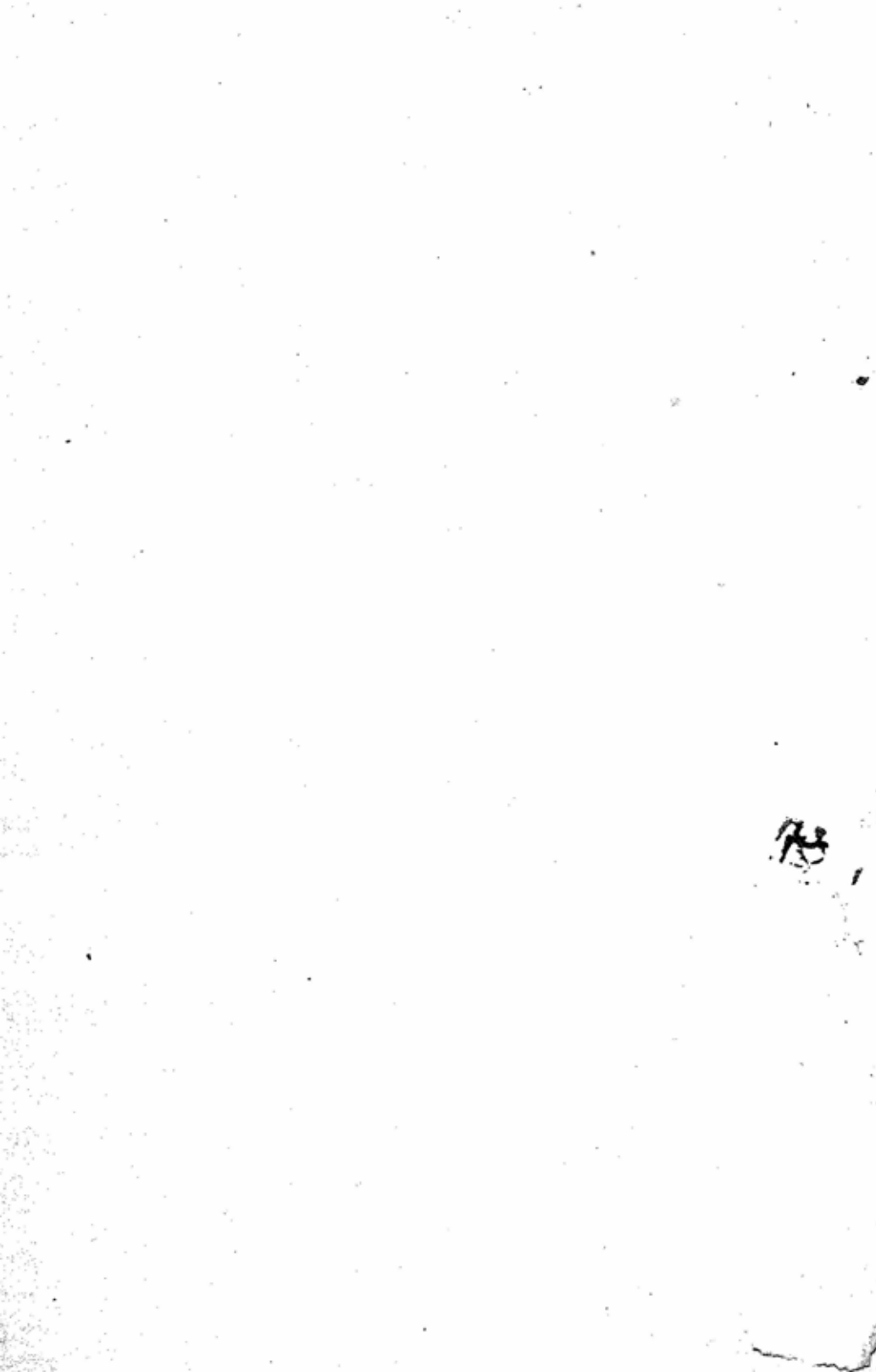
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ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

MINUTES OF MEETINGS.

Meeting of October 21st, 1891.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held on Wednesday, October 21, 1891, in the hall at No. 17, Tsukiji, at 4 p.m., Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that three new members had been elected,—Mr. Harold G. Parlett, Rev. W. I. Lawrance, and Mr. M. de Bunsen.

The Corresponding Secretary informed members that the Rules of the Society up to date had been printed, and copies could be had on application.

Thereafter several papers contributed by Dr. Joseph Edkins of Shanghai were read by Mr. Dixon. They were three in number, and entitled as follows: "Proofs that the Japanese Language belongs to the Ural Altaic Stem, and is more distantly related to European tongues;" "Pott's view of the Genealogical Relationship of the Japanese," and "Ancient Chinese Civilization."

A short discussion followed. Mr. Dixon remarked that in the edition of Chamber's Encyclopædia now appearing, an article from the pen of Dr. Legge did not concede that the existence of Parsian elements in Chinese Civilization had been proved.

The Chairman remarked that Chinese elements were to be traced in the *Kojiki*. Although he would not venture into Dr. Edkin's own field of roots, still he thought that many of the conclusions were a little fanciful. About the astronomical argument, it counted for much less than might appear on the surface. The evidence depended on a special rendering of an obscure and highly rhetorical passage in the *Shu Kien*, a work not written by a contemporaneous author. The interpretation of the text might well be questioned.

Dr. DIVERS endorsed the Chairman's remarks. The whole question seemed to be begged by the author of the paper. Mr. Droppers, taking up the references to the death of retainers and to Herbert Spencer, contended that Dr. Edkin's had proved nothing. The custom of retainers immolating themselves at their chief's grave was found even among the hill tribes of Africa. Its presence in China was as little significant as its absence would have been, for the custom was wide-spread. Herbert Spencer's explanation, that the retainers thought it only right to follow their chief into the Spirit land, seemed quite a good one; there was no need of postulating a Persian origin.

The Chairman expressed the thanks of the Society to the author for his interesting papers, after which the meeting adjourned.

Meeting of January 20th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Society was held in the Hall, No. 17, Tsukiji, Tokyo, on January the 20th, 1892, at 4 p.m., the Vice-President, Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D., in the chair.

The Minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that the name of N. J. Hannen, Esq., for long President of the Society, had been added to the list of honorary members. Two ordinary members, Mr. R. de B. Layard, and Mr. F. J. Norman, and one life member, Mr. C. W. Low, M.B., had also been elected.

It was also announced that the President, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., who had just left for Europe on a year's visit, had previously placed his resignation in the hands of the Council. This resignation, however, the Council had decided not to accept, as they hoped so soon to welcome their President back again to Japan. This being all the business, the Vice-President vacated the chair, and J. M. Dixon, Esq., was called to fill it.

Dr. Geo. W. Knox then read extracts from a lengthy and valuable paper entitled "A Japanese Philosopher."

Dr. Knox also read a series of extracts from the Surugadai Miscellany, having apologized for the bald style of the translation, which does but scant justice to the musical flow of the original.

The translation now offered set forth the philosophy and religion, the ethics and politics, both theoretical and applied, and the copious

historical illustrations of this treatise. Other matter, as literary criticisms, discussions on poetry, and mere ornaments of Japanese style, had been eliminated.

Mr. Dixon expressed the greatest satisfaction with the paper which Dr. Knox had presented to the Society. The introduction presented in a clear cut and systematic form the salient points of the philosophical history of Japan, regarding which our ideas were apt to be a little hazy. Among the literary men of the Tokugawa period Muro Kyuso held a prominent place, and is mentioned with Hayashi Razan, Ogiu Sorai, and Arai Hakuseki. A few days ago Mr. Dixon was successful in finding his tomb. On the northern slope of the hill upon which the Gokokuji Temple stands, and close to the paling of the Imperial Cemetery in Otsukamura, Koishikawa, is situated a plot of ground known as *Jusha Suteba*—"The Place for casting away Chinese Scholars." The broad highway recently engineered to the new convict prison beyond, leads very close to the pathway conducting to this humble burying ground. Kyuso's tomb will be found on the extreme right, a simple stone pillar, about three feet high, of nearly square section, perhaps nine inches by eight. His wife's tomb, still more unassuming, rises on the left side of the husband's. She died in the 4th year of Horeki. Mr. Dixon hoped at the next meeting to be able to furnish members with a photograph of the spot.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of February 10th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Society was held at its rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, on February 10th, 1892, at 4 p.m., the Vice-President, Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D.D., occupying the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

The resignation as a Councillor of the Society of the Rev. Jas. L. Amerman was announced, and reference was made to his former valuable service, as President, and the great regret which the Society felt at his departure.

It was also announced that Dr. F. B. Stephenson, of the U. S. S. *Marion*, and Rev. J. H. De Forest, of Sendai, had joined the Society.

Some photographic prints of the grave of Kyusō, the "Japanese Philosopher," referred to at the last meeting, were handed about for inspection by those present.

Before proceeding to the paper of the day, Professor Dixon asked leave to add a note to his last contribution to the Society, "On the Habits of the Blind in Japan." One method of teaching the blind the written characters is worthy of notice. The figures are traced by the forefingers of the teacher on the back of his pupil, who is thus enabled to reproduce them again.

Professor Dixon then read a paper entitled, "Chōmei and Wordsworth: A Literary Parallel."

The CHAIRMAN thanked the reader of the paper for the interesting article with which he had furnished the meeting, and went on to speak of the great difficulty of comparing Western and Eastern literature. To the Chinese much of our Western literature seemed crude and unfinished. The Eastern attitude towards things was wholly different from ours, and the longer one resided there, the greater was one struck by the radical divergence. Nature to them was a kaleidoscope,—a series of change without rest. Chōmei had been criticized severely by late authors of the Confucian school as a mere aesthete, in whose teaching righteousness and benevolence were absent. His attitude towards nature was certainly a very contracted one. This might be said of Japanese literature generally; it circled round a few well threshed subjects. Take them away and nothing remained. For example, the moon was often referred to as a type of the transient in life, and the speaker quoted a poem to that effect. But what about the stars? He remembered no reference whatever to them. Possibly it might be that astronomy was avoided as its study, according to one writer, was always marked by an increase of wickedness. Wordsworth's feeling towards nature, and to man as a solitary, was wonderfully different from that of Chōmei. Dr. Knox quoted a passage from the *Excursion* to illustrate this point.

Professor Tison had been struck by the indifferentism expressed in the paper. It reminded him of the English poet mentioned by Emerson whose teaching amounted to this—that nothing really mattered very much. There appeared also much that reminded him of Rousseau.

Mr. Dixon said that Rousseau's teaching really was in singularly close sympathy with Japanese life.

The Note on Dr. Knox's paper announced on the postal cards was held over till another meeting, owing to its unexpected length and importance.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of March 9th, 1892.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Rooms, No. 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday the 9th of March, 1892, at 4 p.m., the Vice-President, Rev. George Wm. Knox, D.D., occupying the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that M. N. Wyckoff, Esq., had been appointed Treasurer in room of Dr. J. N. Seymour, resigned, and that Professor Milne had been elected a Councillor to fill the vacancy caused by Dr. Amerman's departure.

The Corresponding Secretary also informed the Meeting that the President, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., and F. V. Dickins, Esq., had been nominated as delegates to the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, to be held in London in the autumn of the current year.

Rev. D. C. GREENE, D. D., was then called to the Chair to enable the Vice-President to read the literary contributions of the day.

The first paper was a "Note on Japanese Schools of Philosophy" by Professor T. HAGA, of the Imperial University, which was read by Dr. Knox. This was followed by "Comment on the foregoing note," and a paper on "Ki, Ri and Ten," by Dr. Knox.

Prof. INOUE, of the Imperial University, took part in the discussion which followed.

Dr. Divers addressed the meeting, not as an ontologist, for he had no special knowledge of these subjects. He represented his colleague, Mr. Haga, to whom the Society was greatly indebted. Mr. Haga had studied these subjects with zeal some years ago, merely as an amateur, and Dr. Divers had with difficulty prevailed upon him to follow up with a reasoned out discussion a chance critical remark he had happened to make.

As to two books, which had been shown, with elaborate figures representing existence in all its phases—a complete system of natural philosophy,—Dr. Divers suspected that Dr. Knox had read the ideas of modern philosophy into these ancient writings; they seemed to him mystical rather than philosophical. He admired the way in which the Japanese, in philosophy as in other departments, had borrowed only to improve. Jinsai appeared to him far ahead of Shushi—he only spoke as an outsider, however.

Rev. HUGH WADDELL protested against the flippant manner in which the audience had treated the circles and diagrams, illustrative of existence which had been shown to them. Surely it was a good thing that men in the Far East should busy themselves over these

things. A circle was a very good emblem of infinity. For him the Teishu school seemed to be closely allied with the idea of the Stoics to be pantheistic, to recognize a God in nature, animating nature; active but not extraneous.

Dr. DIVERS expressed his pleasure that Mr. Waddell had at length been drawn to express himself on these subjects. The Society had long been waiting for a philosophical contribution from his capable hand. Dr. Divers also expressed his surprise at the opinion Ohashi had formed of foreigners, as if they were all scientific men.

The meeting then adjourned.

Meeting of April 27th, 1892

A General Meeting of the Society was held at the Rooms, 17, Tsukiji, on the 27th April, 1892, the Vice-President, Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D.D., occupying the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

There was a very full attendance. It was announced that the Rev. L. Ryde had been elected an ordinary member of the Society.

A paper by the Rev. Jno. BACHELOR, entitled "Specimens of Ainu Folk-Lore," was read by the Corresponding Secretary. It contained several legends, the sequels of others already printed by the Society in Vols. XVI. and XVIII., of which the original Ainu was given.

Mr. MILNE spoke of the value of folk-lore stories, however childish in themselves they might be, as helping us to trace the race affinities of a people. He was sure the Ainu had some connection with extinct races in eastern Europe.

Mr. DIXON remarked that he was struck with a certain incoherence in the legends, an absence of picturesqueness, and of clearness, which made him a little suspicious of their value. He was not quite sure that the Ainu who had related them was not drawing upon a not over-fertile imagination.

The next paper, contributed by the Rev. R. B. GRINNAN, was read by Mr. Wigmore. It was entitled "Feudal Land Tenure in Tosa,"

Dr. Knox spoke of Tosa as a district in which he happened to have a special interest. It was a country studded with the ruins of castles, for the people in the earlier feudal times had never owned the sway of any great lord and had developed considerable independence of

manner and character. They prided themselves on their frankness and courage. These qualities might result from the constant fighting in which even farmers engaged; and also the fact that many bold warriors had been driven from the mainland to seek a shelter in the inviolable recesses of the Shikoku mountains. Speaking of land-tenure, he understood that the *rikosaku* were perpetual tenants who had a right to all their improvements, and who at the Restoration became complete owners. Another system of holding was where the upper three feet of the soil was granted by *samurai* landlords to tenants who had brought the land under cultivation; the landlord merely gained in social rank and importance and not monetarily. The Tosa farmers were as a rule neither large nor small.

Mr. WIGMORE, in referring to the groups of five, ten of which made up a village guild, stated that this was a very old division dating back at least to the 5th or 6th centuries. He then criticized the use of the word "rent" as applied to the annual contribution in rice. Economically the use of the term might be defended, but legally their payment was a tax, as most of the proceeds went directly to the expenses of Government.

Mr. KIRBY spoke of the division population into groups of five as dating from the time of Mencius, in whose works such a disposition was to be found.

Dr. KNOX, referring to a remark in the paper, mentioned one method by which hapless merchants could defend themselves against the otherwise complete tyranny of the *samurai*. If they spat on a *samurai* he had to commit *harakiri* forthwith.

Portions of a paper by Miss Helen Birkenhead, entitled "Suma Mura Fifty Years Ago," were read.

The CHAIRMAN thanked the authors in the name of the Society for their interesting contributions. The meeting then adjourned.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held in the Rooms, 17, Tsukiji, on Wednesday, 8th June, at 4 p.m. The Vice-President, Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D., occupied the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were taken as read.

It was announced that Dr. L. Riese and Mr. G. Holmes had been elected resident members, and Dr. Argyll Robertson a life member.

Professor Milne gave notice of a motion to amend Article VI of the Constitution so as to have \$50 as a commutation fee for resident members, to be decreased \$2.50 yearly for every subscription paid. Thus a subscriber would cease to pay in 20 years.

The CHAIRMAN asked Prof. Milne to reduce his amendment as proposed to writing, which was done in the following terms:

"Any person joining the Society can become a life member by the payment of \$50, or any person already a member can become a life member by the payment of \$50 less \$2.50 for each year in which he has been an ordinary member."

The following reports were read and approved of.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY FOR
THE SESSION, OCTOBER, 1891-JUNE, 1892.

The Council has every reason to congratulate the Society on a successful year of work. The permanent housing of the Library at No. 17, Tsukiji, where are provided convenient rooms for the Meetings of Council and the General Meetings, has proved an eminently suitable arrangement.

The number of General Meetings has been fewer than usual, but this is not accompanied by any diminution in the material printed by the Society. General Meetings were held in October, January, February, March, April, and June—six in all. Dr. Eddins's papers on philology read in October were unfortunately lost by the Corresponding Secretary on the way home from the meeting in Tsukiji, and have never been recovered. It will be impossible to replace them, but the author has kindly promised fresh contributions. The efforts of the Society's Committee on Ethnography have not proved fruitless, two at least of this year's papers being directly due to its inquiries. The Committee on the Tokugawa Laws, which owes almost everything to the active enthusiasm of Professor Wigmore, has already furnished the Society with voluminous matter, to be printed as a Supplement to the current volume. The Volume with its Supplement will contain more matter than the Society has ever yet printed in one year.

At the beginning of the session the Council resolved to entrust its printing to the Yokohama firm which for many years was identified with the Society.

Owing to the increase in the number of Societies on the List of Exchanges, it was thought best to discontinue exchanging with several of them whose work hardly lay within the sphere of our interests and work. A comparison of this year's list with last year's (as found in Appendix B) will show what are the omissions.

The Society is represented at the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which will hold its sittings in London, in the autumn of this year, by its President, B. H. Chamberlain, Esq., and by F. V. Dickins, Esq.

New members continue to be added to the roll of the Society. During the past year nine resident and three non-resident members were elected. The Society conferred Honorary membership on its late President, N. J. Hannen, Esq.

The Treasurer's statement continues to show a satisfactory balance in our favour. This will, however, be materially lessened by the heavy printing expenses connected with the issue of the Supplement to the current balance.

During the current year the Society lost by death one of its oldest members, the Rev. James Summers, who for several years held important offices, and was ever zealous in the Society's interests.

APPENDIX A.

LIST OF PAPERS READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY DURING THE SESSION 1891-1892.

"Proof that the Japanese Language belongs to the Ural-Altaic stem, and is more distantly related to European tongues," by Rev. J. B. Edkins, D. D., Shanghai.

"Pott's View of the Genealogical Relationship of Japanese," by the same author.

"A Japanese Philosopher," by Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D. D.

"Chōmei and Wordsworth: a Literary Parallel," by J. M. Dixon, Esq.

"A Note on Japanese Schools of Philosophy," by T. Haga, Esq.

"A Comment on Shushi's Philosophy," by Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D. D.

"Ki, Ri and Ten," by Rev. Geo. Wm. Knox, D. D.

"Specimens of Ainu Folk Lore," by Rev. Jno. Batchelor.

"Something more about Shushi's Philosophy," by T. Haga, Esq.

- "Feudal Land Tenure in Tosa," by Rev. R. B. Grinnan.
 "Suma-mura Fifty Years Ago," by Miss H. M. Birkenhead.
 "On Japanese Swords," by J. M. Dixon, Esq.

APPENDIX B.

LIST OF EXCHANGES.

- Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
 „ „ Sciences of Finland (*Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicæ*).
 Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India; Journal.
 American Association for the Advancement of Science.
 „ Geographical Society, New York; Bulletin and Journal.
 „ Oriental Society, New Haven; Journal.
 „ Philological Association, Boston; Transactions and Journal.
 „ Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Proceedings.
 Annalen des K. K. Natur Hist. Hofmuseum, Wien.
 Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft in Wien; Mittheilungen.
 Asiatic Society of Bengal; Journal and Proceedings.
 Australian Association for the Advancement of Science.
 „ Museum, Sydney.
 Bataviasch Genootschap; Notulen. Tijdschrift. Verhandlungen.
 Boston Society of Natural History; Proceedings.
 Bureau of Ethnology, Annual Reports; Washington.
 „ „ Education, Circulars of Information; Washington.
 California Academy of Sciences.
 „ State Mining Bureau; Report.
 Canadian Institute, Toronto; Proceedings and Reports.
 China Review; Hongkong.
 Chinese Recorder; Shanghai.
 Cochinchine Française, Excursions et Reconnaissances, Saigon.
 Cosmos; di Guido Cora, Turin.
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens,
 Tōkyō; Mittheilungen.
 Geological Survey of India; Records.
 Geographical and Natural History Survey of Canada.
 Handelsmuseum, Wien.
 Harvard University, Museum of Comparative Zoology; Bulletin,
 Papers, etc.
 Imperial Observatory, Rio Janeiro.

Imperial Russian Geographical Society; Bulletin and Reports.

„ Society of the Friends of Natural Science (Moscow), Section
of Anthropology and Ethnography; Transactions.

Imperial University of Japan, College of Science; Journal.

Japan Weekly Mail, Yokohama.

Johns Hopkins University Publications, Baltimore.

Journal Asiatique, Paris.

Kaiserliche Leopoldinische Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der
Naturforscher; Verhandlungen, Nova Acta.

Musée Guimet, Lyons, Annales et Revue, etc.

Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.

Observatorio Astronomico Nacional de Tacubaya, Anuario Mexico.

„ Meteorologico, Monte Video.

Ornithologischer Verein in Wien, Mittheilungen.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain; Journal, etc.

„ „ „ Bombay Branch; Journal.

„ „ „ Ceylon Branch; Journal and Proceedings.

„ „ „ China Branch; Journal.

„ „ „ Straits Branch; Journal.

„ Dublin Society, Scientific Transactions.

„ Geographical Society; Proceedings.

„ „ „ New South Wales Branch.

„ Society, London; Proceedings.

„ „ of Edinburgh; Proceedings.

„ „ New South Wales.

„ „ Tasmania.

„ „ of Queensland.

Seismological Society of Japan; Transactions.

Smithsonian Institute, Washington D.C.; Reports, etc.

Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid; Boletín.

„ de Geographia de Lisboa, Boletín, Lisbon.

Société Académique Indo-Chinoise, Saigon.

„ de Géographie; Bulletin et ^{le} Compte Rendu des Séances,
Paris.

„ des Études Japonaises, Chinoises, etc., Saigon.

„ d'Anthropologie de Paris; Bulletins et Mémoires.

„ d'Ethnographie, Bulletin, Paris.

Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Bulletin, Neuchâtel.

Sydney, Council of Education, Report.

University of Toronto.

United States Geological Survey.

„ „ Department of Agriculture.

Verein für Erdkunde, Leipzig: Mittheilungen.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.

APPENDIX C.

ASIATIC SOCIETY'S ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDING MAY 31st, 1892.

Dr.

To the Hakubunsha, for printing	\$ 555.215
To Postage and Stationery	25.955
To Insurance on Library and Transactions	32.500
To Rent of No. 17, Tsukiji	100.000
To Illustrations for Transactions	24.500
To Librarian, for removing library; books and postage .	62.540
To Kelly & Walsh, Books for Library	70.750
To Translation	140.000
To Copying	13.800
To Advertising	5.000
	<u>\$1,100.260</u>
Balance	2,318.435
	<u>\$3,418.435</u>

Cr.

By Balance from last year	\$1,825.065
By Entrance fees	70.000
By Life Subscriptions	64.000
By Yearly Subscriptions	562.000
By Sale of Transactions	837.060
By Interest at Bank	60.570
	<u>\$3,418.695</u>

M. N. WYCKOFF, Hon. Treasurer.

Audited and found correct.

W. JNO. WHITE, } Auditors.
RICHARD J. KIRBY, }

Mr. DROFFERS spoke regarding the item allowed for translation work, and hoped such payments would in future be sanctioned by the Council according to some fixed rule or principle. It seemed to him that abuses might result from the present system. Professor Milne, Dr. Divers, and Professor Liscomb also spoke as to the same matter.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year:—

PRESIDENT—B. H. Chamberlain, Esq.

VICE-PRESIDENTS—Rev. G. W. Knox, D.D.; James Troup, Esq.

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY—Rev. Clay McCauley.

RECORDING SECRETARIES—A. Tison, Esq.; J. K. Goodrich, Esq.

TREASURER—M. N. Wyckoff, Esq.

LIBRARIAN—Rev. W. J. White.

COUNCILLORS:

Dr. L. Divers

Rev. Dr. D. C. Greene,

Rev. W. I. Lawrance.

J. H. Longford, Esq.

Rev. T. M. McNair.

R. Masujima, Esq.

J. Milne, Esq.

W. J. S. Shand, Esq.

Dr. H. Weipert.

J. H. Wigmore, Esq.

Professor Dixon read a note on the manufacture of Cloisonne.

Thereafter a paper was read by Professor Dixon, entitled "Japanese Swords,"

Mr. Dixon displayed various illustrations of famous swords, showing one that he had himself seen made by a famous living smith. Mr. Inawo, of the Household Department, was then introduced to the meeting, and showed several fine swords in his collection, particularly a Masamune. A retainer of Viscount Akimoto's was also present with a Kanehira blade and several others. These were inspected with great interest by members, and various questions were asked. A vote of thanks was then passed to Mr. Inawo and the reader of the paper.

The meeting then adjourned.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

- Alcock, Sir Rutherford, K.C.B., Athenæum Club, London, England
Arnold, C.S.I.N., Sir Edwin, c/o Daily Telegraph Office, London, England.
Arthur, Rear-Admiral W., c/o Messrs. Hallett & Co., Trafalgar Square, London, England.
Aston, C.M.G., W. G., Woodlands, Seaton, Devon, England.
Day, Prof. Geo. E., Yale College, New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
Edkins, D.D., Rev. Joseph, Shanghai.
Franks, A. W., c/o Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ludgate Hill, London, E. C., England.
Hepburn, M.D., LL.D., J. C., Pasadena, Cal., U. S. A.
Norkenskjöld, Baron A., Stockholm.
Rein, Prof. J. J., Bonn-am-Rhein, Germany.
Satow, C.M.G., Ernest M., British Legation, Montevideo.
Wade, K.C.B., Sir Thomas F., Cambridge, England.
Whitney, Prof. W. D., New Haven, Conn., U. S. A.
-

LIFE MEMBERS.

- Anderson, F.R.C.S., W., 2 Harley Street, Cavendish Square, London, W., England.
Atkinson, B.Sc., R. W., Cardiff, Wales.
Bisset, F.L.S., J., 72, Yokohama.
Blanchet, Rev. C. T., Bolton, Lake George, New York.
Brauns, Prof. Dr. D., Halle University, Germany.
Brown, Captain A. R., Central Chambers, 109 Hope Street, Glasgow, Scotland.
Carson, T. G., Bannfield, Coleraine, Ireland.
Clarke-Thornhill, T. B., Ruston Hall, Kettering, Northamptonshire, England.
Clement, E. W., 5461, Washington Ave., Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.

- Cooper, LL.D., C. J., Hampton Lodge, Stourton near Stour Bridge, Staffordshire, England.
- Deas, F. W., 12 Magdala Place, Edinburgh.
- Dillon, E., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S. W., England.
- Dixon, F.R.S.E., J. M., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., U.S.A.
- Dixon, M.A., Rev. William Gray, Warrnambool, Victoria, Australia.
- Eaves, Rev. Geo., Poste Restante, Denver, Colorado, U. S. A.
- Fearing, D., Newport, Rhode Island, U. S. A.
- Flemmich, O. C., Alton House, Roehampton, England.
- Flowers, Marcus, National Union Club, Albemarle Street, London, W., England.
- Gowland, W., c/o F. Dillon, Esq., 13 Upper Phillimore Gardens, Kensington, London, S.W., England.
- Gribble, Henry, 184 Pearl Street, New York.
- Hall, Frank, Elmira, Chemung Co., New York.
- Holme, F.L.S., C., The Red House, Bixley Heath, Kent, England.
- Kinch, Edward, Agricultural College, Cirencester, England.
- Knott, D.SC., F.R.S.E., Cargill G., Royal Society, Edinburgh.
- Liberty, Lasenby, 13 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, London, England.
- Low, C. W., Powis Lodge, Vicarage Park, Plumsted, London.
- Lyman, Benjamin Smith, State Geological Survey Office, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A.
- MacLagan, Robert, 9 Cadogan Place, Belgrave Square, London, England.
- Malan, Rev. C. S., West Cliff Hall, Bournemouth, England.
- Marshall, D.D., T., 48 McCormick Block, Chicago, Ill., U. S. A.
- Marshall, Prof., Queen's College, Kingston, Canada.
- Morse, W. H., c/o Messrs. Smith, Baker & Co., 78 Yokohama.
- Napier, H. M., Glasgow, Scotland.
- Olcott, Colonel Henry S., Adyar, Madras, India.
- O'Neill, John, Trafalgar House, Faversham, Kent, England.
- Parker, E. H., c/o Postmaster General, Rangoon.
- Piggott, F. T., 36 Eaton Terrace, London, S. W., England.
- Robertson, M.D., Argyll, 14 Charlotte Square, London, England.
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- Tompkinson, M., Franche Hall, near Kidderminster, England.
- Trower, H. Seymour, 51 Montagu Square, London, W., England.

ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- Akimoto, Viscount, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
 Amerman, D.D., Rev. James L., Spring Valley, New York,
 U. S. A.
 Andrews, Rev. Walter, Hakodate.
 Arrivet, J. B., Koishikawa, Kanatomi-chō, Tōkyō.
 Baelz, M.D., E., 12 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
 Baker, Colgate, Kobe.
 Batchelor, Rev. J., c/o Rev. Walter Andrews, Hakodate.
 Bickersteth, Right Reverend Bishop, 11 Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 Bigelow, Dr. W. S., Boston, Mass., U. S. A.
 Booth, Rev. E. S., 178 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Brandram, Rev. J. B., Kumamoto.
 Brinkley, R.A., Capt. F., 7 Nagata-chō, Nichōme, Tōkyō.
 Brown, Matthew, 6 Yokohama.
 Burton, W. K., 9 Kaga Yashiki, Hongō, Tōkyō.
 Center, Alex., 4-A Yokohama.
 Chamberlain, B. H., 19 Daimachi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Cochran, D.D., Rev. G., 16 Toriizaka, Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Cocking, S., 55 Yokohama.
 Conder, J., 13 Nishi-konya-cho, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
 Coudenrove, Count Henry, Austrian Legation, Tōkyō.
 Cruickshank, W. J., 35 Yokohama.
 Dautremere, J., French Legation, Tōkyō.
 Deakin, L. H., 20 Yokohama.
 De Bunsen, M., British Legation, Tōkyō.
 De Forest, D.D., Rev. J. H., Sendai.
 Dietz, F., 70 Yokohama.
 Divers, M.D., F.R.S., Edward, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
 Droppers, Garrett, 41 Shinzaka-machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Du Bois, M.D., Francis, 48 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Duer, Y., Nippon Yusen Kaisha Head Office, Tōkyō.
 Dumelin, A., Swiss Consul-General, 90-A Yokohama.
 Eby, D.D., Rev. C. S., 16 Tatsukoka-chō, Hongō, Tōkyō.
 Enslie, J. J., British Consulate, Kōbe.
 Fardel, C. L., Victoria School, Yokohama.
 Favre-Brandt, J., 145 Bluff, Yokohama.
 Francis, Rev. J. M., 25 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Fraser, J. A., 143, Yokohama.
 Fraser, Hugh, British Legation, Tōkyō.
 Gardiner, J. McD., 40 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Gay, A. O., 2 Yokohama.

- Giussani, C., 90-B Yokohama.
 Glover, T. B., 53 Kōenchi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 Goodrich, J. K., 2 Yokohama.
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 Hinton, C. H., Kanazawa, Kaga.
 Hunt, H. J., 62 Concession, Kobe.
 Irwin, R. W., 5 Kiridōshi, Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 Isawa, S., 50 Dairokuten-chō, Koishikawa, Tōkyō.
 James, F. S., 142 Yokohama.
 Jamieson, G., c/o Henry S. King and Co., Cornhill, London, England.
 Jaudon, Peyton, 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Kanda, Naibu, Imperial University, Tōkyō.
 Kanō, J., Kōtō Chūgakkō, Kumamoto.
 Keil, O., 61 Yokohama.
 Kenny, W. J., British Consulate, Yokohama.
 King, Rev. A. F., 11 Sakae-chō, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 Kirby, J. R., 8 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Kirkwood, M., 43 Shinzaka-machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Knox, D.D., G. W., 27 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Kobayashi, Beika, 12 Yokohama.
 Lambert, E. B., Dōshisha, Kyōtō.
 Lawrance, W. I., 19 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Lay, A. H., British Consulate, Kobe.
 Layard, R. de B., British Consulate, Yokohama.
 Liscomb, W. S., 41 Shinzaka-machi, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
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- MacNair, Rev. T. M., Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
 Mason, W. B., 41 Kōenchi, Shiba, Tōkyō.
 Masujima, R., 21 Hiyoshi-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
 Mayet, P., 3 Aoi-cho, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 McCauley, Rev. James M., Meiji-gakuin, Shirokane, Tōkyō.
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 Münter, Capt., 3 Aoi-cho, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Münzinger, Rev. K., 39 Kami Tomizaka, Tōkyō.
 Norman, F. J., Hongō, Tōkyō.
 Newton, J. C. C., Kobe.
 Palmer, R.E., Maj.-Gen. H. S., 41 Imai-chō, Azabu, Tōkyō.
 Parlett, H., British Legation, Tōkyō.
 Patton, J. L., 18 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Perin, G. L., 15 Masago-cho, Hongō, Tōkyō.
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 Rentiers, J. B., British Legation, Tōkyō.
 Riess, Dr. Ludwig, Tōkyō.
 Schurr, G. J. H., 18 Nagata-chō, Ni-chōme, Tōkyō.
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 Seymour, B.A., M.D., J. N., 32 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
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 Soper, Rev. Julius, Hakodate
 Spencer, Rev. J. O., Aoyama, Tōkyō.
 Spinner, W., 12 Suzukicho, Surugadai, Tōkyō.
 Stone, W. H., 3 Aoi-chō, Akasaka, Tōkyō.
 Swift, J. S., 85 Myogadani, Tōkyō.
 Taft, G. W., Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
 Takaki, Dr., 10 Nishi-konya-chō, Kyōbashi, Tōkyō.
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 Tsuda, Sen, Shimbori, Azabu, Tōkyō.

- Tyng, T. S., 29 Tsukiji, Tōkyō.
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Walsh, T., Kobe.
Walter, W. B., 1 Yokohama.
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THE
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
OF THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised June, 1891.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

Revised June, 1891.

NAME AND OBJECTS.

- Art. I. The Name of the Society shall be THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.
- Art. II. The Object of the Society shall be to collect and publish information on subjects relating to Japan and other Asiatic Countries.
- Art. III. Communications on other subjects may, within the discretion of the Council, be received by the Society but shall not be published among the Papers forming the Transactions.

MEMBERSHIP.

- Art. IV. The Society shall consist of Honorary and Ordinary Members.
- Art. V. Honorary Members shall be admitted upon special grounds, to be determined in each case by the Council. They shall not be resident in Japan, and shall not pay an entrance fee or annual subscription.
- Art. VI. Ordinary Members shall pay, on their election, an entrance fee of Five Dollars and the subscription for the current year. Those resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Five Dollars. Those not resident in Japan shall pay an annual subscription of Three Dollars or a Life Composition of Sixteen Dollars.

Any Member elected after 30th June shall not be required to pay the subscription for the year of his election unless he wishes to receive the Transactions of the past session of the Society.

Any person joining the Society can become a Life Member by the payment of Fifty Dollars; or any person already a member can become a Life Member by

the payment of Fifty Dollars, less Two Dollars and Fifty Cents for each year in which he has been an Ordinary Member.

- Art. VII. The Annual Subscription shall be payable in advance, on the 1st of January in each year.

Any Member failing to pay his subscription for the current year by the 30th of June shall be reminded of his omission by the Treasurer. If his subscription still remains unpaid on the 31st of December of that year, he shall be considered to have resigned his Membership.

- Art. VIII. Every Member shall be entitled to receive the Publications of the Society during the period of his Membership.

OFFICERS.

- Art. IX. The Officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Two Vice-Presidents.

A Corresponding Secretary.

Two Recording Secretaries.

A Treasurer.

A Librarian.

COUNCIL.

- Art. X. The affairs of the Society shall be managed by a Council composed of the Officers for the current year and ten ordinary Members.

MEETINGS.

- Art. XI. General Meetings of the Society and Meetings of Council shall be held as the Council shall have appointed and announced.

- Art. XII. The Annual Meeting of the Society shall be held in June, at which the Council shall present its Annual Report and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts, duly audited by two Members nominated by the President.

- Art. XIII. Nine Members shall form a quorum at an Annual Meeting, and Five Members at a Council Meeting. At all Meetings of the Society and Council, in the absence

of the President and Vice-Presidents, a Chairman shall be elected by the Meeting. The Chairman shall not have a vote unless there is an equality of votes.

- Art. XIV. Visitors (including representatives of the Press) may be admitted to the General Meetings by Members of the Society, but shall not be permitted to address the Meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

ELECTIONS.

- Art. XV. All Members of the Society shall be elected by the Council. They shall be proposed at one Meeting of Council and balloted for the next, one black ball in five to exclude; and their Election shall be announced at the General Meeting following.
- Art. XVI. The Officers and other Members of Council shall be elected by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for one year.
- Art. XVII. The Council shall fill up all Vacancies in its Membership which may occur between Annual Meetings.

PUBLICATION.

- Art. XVIII. The published Transactions of the Society shall contain:—
- (1) Such papers and notes read before the Society as the Council shall have selected, and an abstract of the discussion thereon;
 - (2) The Minutes of the General Meetings;
 - (3) And, at the end of each annual volume, the Reports and Accounts presented to the last Annual Meeting, the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society, and a List of Members.
- Art. XIX. Twenty-five separate copies of each published paper shall be placed at the disposal of the author, and the same number shall be reserved by the Council to be disposed of as it sees fit.
- Art. XX. The Council shall have power to distribute copies of the Transactions at its discretion
- Art. XXI. The Council shall have power to publish, in separate form, papers or documents which it considers of sufficient interest or importance.

Art. XXII. Papers accepted by the Council shall become the property of the Society and cannot be published anywhere without consent of the Council.

Acceptance of a paper for reading at a General Meeting of the Society does not bind the Society to its publication afterwards. But when the Council has decided not to publish any paper accepted for reading, that paper shall be restored to the author without any restriction as to its further use.

MAKING OF BY-LAWS.

Art. XXIII. The Council shall have power to make and amend By-Laws for its own and the Society's guidance, provided that these are not inconsistent with the Constitution; and a General Meeting by a majority vote may suspend the operation of any By-Law.

AMENDMENTS.

Art. XXIV. None of the foregoing Articles of the Constitution can be amended except at a General Meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the Members present, and only if due notice of the proposed Amendment shall have been given at a previous General Meeting.

BY-LAWS.

GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. I. The Session of the Society shall extend over the nine months from October to June inclusive.
- Art. II. Ordinarily the Session shall consist of nine monthly General Meetings; but it may include a less or greater number when the Council finds reason for such a change.
- Art. III. The place and time of Meeting shall be fixed by the Council, preference being given, when the Meeting is held in Tōkyō, to 4 p.m. on the Second Wednesday of each month. The place of Meeting may be in Yokohama when the occasion is favourable.
- Art. IV. Timely notice of every General Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member resident in Tōkyō or Yokohama.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT GENERAL MEETINGS.

- Art. V. The Order of Business at General Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action on the Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) Communications from the Council;
 - (3) Miscellaneous Business;
 - (4) The Reading and Discussion of papers.

The above order shall be observed except when the Chairman shall rule otherwise.

At Annual Meetings the Order of Business shall include, in addition to the foregoing matters:—

- (5) The Reading of the Council's Annual Report and Treasurer's account, and submission of these for the action of the Meeting upon them;

- (6) The Election of Officers and Council as directed by Article XVI. of the Constitution.

MEETINGS OF COUNCIL.

- VI. The Council shall appoint its own Meetings, preference as to time being given to 4 p.m. on the First Wednesday of each month.
- VII. Timely notice of every Council Meeting shall be sent by post to the address of every Member of Council, and shall contain a statement of any extraordinary business to be done.

ORDER OF BUSINESS AT COUNCIL MEETINGS.

- VIII. The Order of Business at Council Meetings shall be:—
- (1) Action upon the Minutes of the last Meeting;
 - (2) *Reports* of the Corresponding Secretary,
of the Publication Committee,
of the Treasurer,
of the Librarian,
and of Special Committees;
 - (3) The Election of Members;
 - (4) The Nomination of Candidates for Membership of the Society;
 - (5) Miscellaneous Business;
 - (6) Acceptance of papers to be read before the Society;
 - (7) Arrangement of the Business of the next General Meeting.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

- IX. There shall be a Standing Committee entitled the Publication Committee and composed of the Secretaries, the Librarian, and any Members appointed by the Council. It shall ordinarily be presided over by the Corresponding Secretary.

It shall carry through the publication of the Transactions of the Society, and the re-issue of Parts out of print.

It shall report periodically to the Council and act under its authority.

It shall audit the accounts for printing the Transactions.

It shall not allow authors' manuscripts or printer's proofs of these to go out of its custody for other than the Society's purposes.

DUTIES OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

X. The Corresponding Secretary shall :—

1. Conduct the Correspondence of the Society;
2. Arrange for and issue notices of Council Meetings, and provide that all official business be brought duly and in order before each Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and General Meeting or give notice to the Recording Secretary that he will be absent;
4. Notify new Officers and Members of Council of their appointment and send them each a copy of the By-Laws;
5. Notify new Members of the Society of their election, and send them copies of the Articles of Constitution and of the Library Catalogue;
6. Unite with the Recording Secretaries, Treasurer and Librarian in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication all matter as defined in Article XVIII. of the Constitution.
7. Act as Chairman of the Publication Committee, and take first charge of authors' manuscripts and proofs struck off for use at Meetings.

RECORDING SECRETARIES.

- XI. Of the Recording Secretaries, one shall reside in Tōkyō, and one in Yokohama, each having ordinarily duties only in connection with Meetings of the Society or its Council held in the place where he resides.

DUTIES OF RECORDING SECRETARY.

XII. The Recording Secretary shall:—

1. Keep Minutes of General and Council Meetings;
2. Make arrangements for General Meetings as instructed by the Council, and notify Members resident in Tokyo and Yokohama;
3. Inform the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the election of new Members.
4. Attend every General Meeting and Meeting of Council, or, in case of absence, depute the Corresponding Secretary or some other Member of Council to perform his duties, and forward to him the Minute Book;
5. Act for the Corresponding Secretary in the latter's absence;
6. Act on the Publication Committee;
7. Assist in drafting the Annual Report of the Council and in preparing for publication the Minutes of General Meetings and the Constitution and By-laws of the Society;
8. Furnish abstracts of Proceedings at General Meetings to newspapers and public prints as directed by the Council.

DUTIES OF TREASURER.

XIII. The Treasurer shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Funds in accordance with the instructions of the Council;
2. Apply to the President to appoint Auditors, and present the Annual Balance sheet to the Council duly audited before the date of the Annual Meeting;
3. Attend every Council Meeting and report when requested upon the money affairs of the Society, or in case of absence depute some Member of Council to act for him, furnishing him with such information and documents as may be necessary;
4. Notify new Members of the amount of entrance fee and subscriptions then due;

5. Collect subscriptions and notify Members of their unpaid subscriptions once in or about January and again in or about June; apply to Agents for the sale of the Society's Transactions in Japan and abroad for payment of sums owing to the Society;
6. Pay out all Monies for the Society under the direction of the Council, making no single payment in excess of Ten Dollars without special vote of the Council.
7. Inform the Librarian when a new Member has paid his entrance fee and first subscription;
8. Submit to the Council at its January Meeting the names of Members who have not paid their subscription for the past year; and, after action has been taken by the Council, furnish the Librarian with the names of any Members to whom the sending of the Transactions is to be suspended or stopped.
9. Prepare for publication the List of Members of the Society.

DUTIES OF LIBRARIAN.

XIV. The Librarian shall:—

1. Take charge of the Society's Library and stock of Transactions, keep its books and periodicals in order, catalogue all additions to the Library, and superintend the binding and preservation of the books;
2. Carry out the Regulations of the Council for the use and lending of the Society's books;
3. Send Copies of the Transactions to all Honorary Members, to all Ordinary Members not in arrears for dues according to the list furnished by the Treasurer, and to all Societies and Journals the names of which are on the list of Exchanges;
4. Arrange with Booksellers and others for the sale of the Transactions as directed by the Council, send the required numbers of each issue to the appointed agents, and keep a record of all such business;
5. Arrange, under direction of the Council, new Exchanges of the Transactions with Societies and Journals;
6. Draw up List of Exchanges of Journals and of additions to the Library for insertion in the Council's Annual Report;

7. Make additions to the Library as instructed by the Council;
8. Present to the Council at its June Meeting a statement of the stock of Transactions possessed by the Society;
9. Act on the Publication Committee;
10. Attend every Council Meeting and report on Library matters, or, if absent, send to the Corresponding Secretary a statement of any matter of immediate importance.

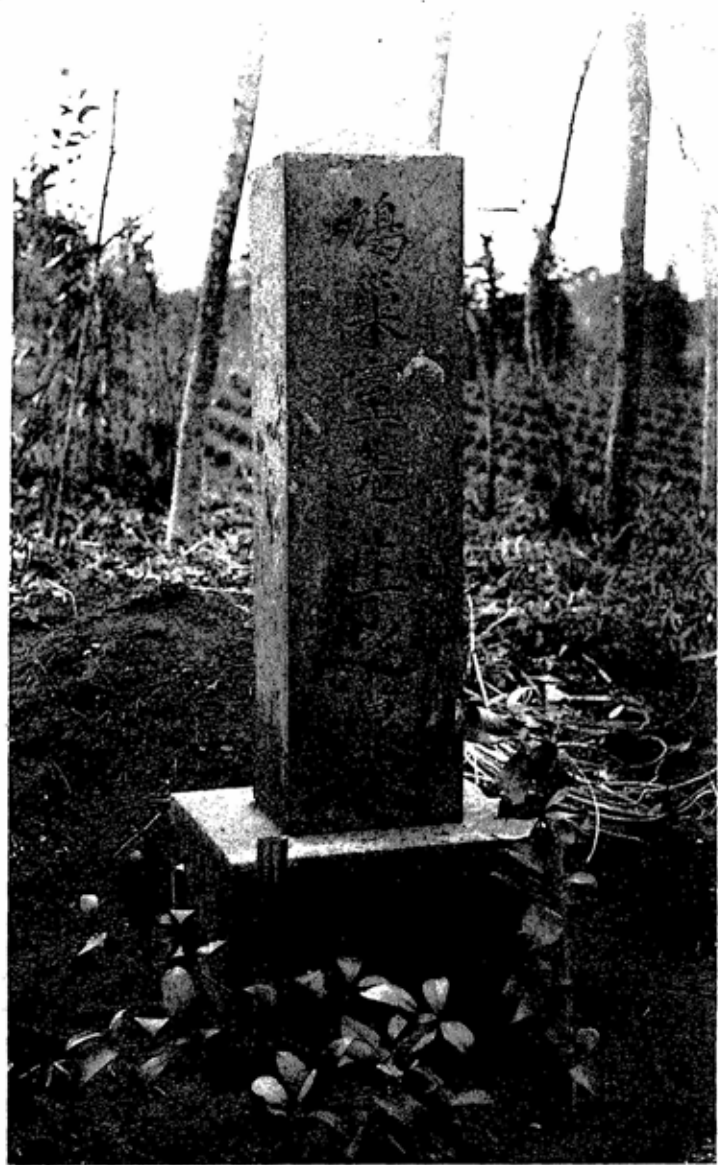
LIBRARY AND MEETING ROOM.

- Art. XV. The Society's Rooms and Library shall be at No. 17 Tsukiji, Tōkyō, to which may be addressed all letters and parcels not sent to the private address of the Corresponding Secretary, Treasurer, or Librarian.
- Art. XVI. The Library shall be open to Members for consultation during the day, the keys of the book cases being in the possession of the Librarian or other Member of Council resident in the neighbourhood; and books may be borrowed on applying to the Librarian.

SALE OF TRANSACTIONS.

- Art. XVII. A Member may obtain at half-price one copy for his own use of any Part of the Transactions issued prior to the date of his Membership.
- Art. XVIII. The Transactions shall be on sale by Agents approved of by the Council and shall be supplied to these Agents at a discount price fixed by the Council.





K. OGAWA.

COLLOTYPE.

THE GRAVE OF KYU-SŌ, ŌTSUKA MURA, TŌKYŌ.

A JAPANESE PHILOSOPHER.

BY GEORGE WM. KNOX, D.D.

[*Read January 20, 1892.*]

INTRODUCTION.

Previous to the recent introduction of western literature and science, the intellectual development of the Japanese may be studied in three periods, each characterized by a distinctive system of religion and ethics.

The first period came to an end in the eighth century of our era. It was the period of Shintō and of pure native thought. It has been fully treated in the Transactions of this society.¹

The second period began with the introduction of Buddhism and, with it, of the Chinese civilization in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. Thenceforth for a thousand years the new religion was supreme. "All education was for centuries in Buddhist hands, Buddhism introduced art, introduced medicine, moulded the folk-lore of the country, created its dramatic poetry, deeply influenced its politics and every sphere of social and intellectual activity."² Religiously its highest distinctively Japanese development was in the

¹ "The Kō-ji-ki," translated by B. H. Chamberlain, Vol. X. Appendix; "The Revival of Pure Shin-tau," by Ernest Satow, Vol. III. Appendix; "Ancient Japanese Rituals," by the same, Vols. VII, IX; also "The Classical Poetry of the Japanese" by B. H. Chamberlain.

² "Things Japanese," by B. H. Chamberlain, p. 71, 2nd Ed.

thirteenth century, when the Nichiren and Shin sects were founded. Its impress is deep upon the literary masterpieces of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³

The third period began with the establishment of peace under Tokugawa Ieyasu and continued until the period of Meiji in which we live. It is the period of the Chinese philosophy as interpreted by the great scholars of the Sō (Sung) dynasty in China.

These periods intermingle and overlap. Repeated instances of Chinese influence are detected even in the earliest remains of pure Japanese literature; in the second period the influence of the earlier remained and the force of the Confucian teaching was strongly felt. And in the third period not only did the influences of the three intermingle, but they came to philosophical and religious self-consciousness and conflict.

The Confucian ethics came to Japan early in the Christian era, just how early is uncertain. The wide influence of Chinese thought and civilization date from the introduction of Buddhism; but the distinctive triumph of the Chinese philosophy was in the seventeenth century of our era. In Japan as in China the prevalent philosophy must be distinguished from the traditional and dogmatic ethics.

PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS.

This distinction often has been overlooked and the philosophy has been identified with the teachings of the Sages. Then, as a second step, these teachings are described as "an attempt to isolate the purely human side of morals,"⁴ finding its sole origin "in the conviction that human moral life has its basis and its safeguards in human nature."⁴ The words of Confucius and Mencius appear to be "a set of moral truths—some would

³ James Troup's translations of the Shin teaching, Vols. XIV, XVII of these Transactions.

⁴ "The International Journal of Ethics," Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 307.

say truisms—of a very narrow scope and of dry ceremonial observances, political rather than personal.”⁵ However true this characterization of the early Chinese teachings may be, one dissents when it is set forth, finally, as “the creed of educated Chinamen”;⁴ nor, so far as my limited study goes, can I find that it has satisfied “the Far-Easterns of China, Korea and Japan.”

It is not necessary to linger over the efforts to prove the original monotheism of the Chinese nor to recount the religious elements in the teaching of Confucius.⁶ After his death there was a rapid “degeneracy,” for his “set of moral rules” left an open door for other doctrine. In the time of Mencius scholars openly ridiculed the “Master,” and in spite of Mencius’s opposition Taoism gained in strength. Later on for centuries Taoism had “the field pretty much to itself;”⁷ until at a subsequent date this mystical system received “Buddhism with open arms.”⁸

As early as 65 A. D. the Imperial sanction was given to the Indian religion, and thenceforth for centuries men were zealous for both Confucius and Buddha.⁹ So in the time of the Eastern Tsin “Buddhism was the chief religion, . . . and the doctrines of Confucius were much esteemed;”¹⁰ and

⁵ “Things Japanese,” 2nd Edition, p. 92.

⁶ See “The Religions of China,” Lecture I; and Faber’s “A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius,” pp. 44–53.

⁷ “The Religions of China,” p. 180.

⁸ “The China Review” Vol. VIII, No. 1, p. 59.

⁹ Dr. Edkins (“The Phoenix” Vol. III, pp. 47–49) divides the intellectual development of China into five stages;—1, Struggles for Confucianism against various speculations, with Taoist doctrine gaining yearly; 2, The “Han”, when the tone of speculation was predominantly Taoist; 3, The six dynasties, when Buddhism was triumphant; 4, The “Tang,” luxurious and poetical; 5, The “Sung,” and on to our day. In none of these periods was “the purely human side of morals” the “creed of educated Chinamen.” Some addition was always needed to satisfy their intellectual and religious natures.

¹⁰ The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, p. 165.

again we read of the emperor Wuti of the Liang in the sixth century: "Wuti did much to restore literature and the study of Confucius; . . . In his latter days he was so great a devotee of Buddhism that he retired to a monastery like Charles V."¹¹ This harmony continued with little to disturb it until the time of the Sō (Sung).

It was during this period of Buddhist supremacy that the Chinese literature was brought to Japan, and here too it was honoured but made no effort to disentangle itself from its ally; the Buddhist religion, and not the Confucian ethics, bringing characteristic of the period.

When, however, under Tokugawa rule, Chinese thought a second time made conquest of Japan, it was no longer friendly to Buddhism. While Japan had slept its long sleep of centuries (from the twelfth to the seventeenth) China had been awake. At last Confucianism had taken on the form of a developed philosophy and with its new self-consciousness had attacked and routed its quondam friend. This new philosophy has satisfied the intellect of China and introduced into Japan won its way here also at once. The ages of Buddhist faith came to a close and the intellect of Japan accepted in the place of the Indian religion the pantheistic philosophy of Shushi (Chu Hi).¹²

The luxury and poetry of the Tō (Tang) were followed by the struggles of the Sō (Sung, A. D. 970-1127, or including the "Southern Sung" until 1277). During the reigns of Chin-tsung and of his son Tin-tsung "a violent controversy arose among the literati and officials as to the best mode of conducting the government. Some of them, as Sz'ma Kwang the historian, contended for the maintenance of the old principles of the sages. Others, of whom Wang Ngan-shi was the distinguished leader, advocated reform

¹¹ The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, p. 166.

¹² The Chinese philosophy is sometimes called "agnostic," so "a friendly German critic" in "Things Japanese," p. 94, and that too was once my opinion, "Osaka Conference," p. 115. It is not agnostic, but pantheistic, as will abundantly appear.

and change to the entire overthrow of existing institutions. For the first time in the history of China two political parties peacefully struggled for supremacy, each content to depend on argument and truth for victory. The contest soon grew too bitter, however, and the accession of a new monarch, Shin-tsung, enabled Wang to dispossess his opponents and to manage state affairs as he pleased. After a trial of eight or ten years the voice of the nation restored the conservatives to power, and the radicals were banished beyond the frontier. A discussion like this, involving all the cherished ideas of the Chinese, brought out deep and acute inquiry into the nature and uses of things generally, and the writers of this dynasty, at the head of whom was Chu Hi, made a lasting impression on the national mind."¹³

THE PHILOSOPHERS OF THE SŌ.

The best known of the "orthodox" philosophers of the Sō are Chow Tun-i, (A. D. 1017-1073), the brothers Ch'eng (A. D. 1032-1085, and 1033-1107), and above all Chu Hi. Of the younger Ch'eng it is said,—“His criticisms on the classics opened a new era in Chinese philosophy and were reverently adopted by his great successor Chu Hi.”¹⁴ The names of Ch'eng and Chu are associated together, and the dominant philosophy is called the system of Tei-Shu (Japanese pronunciation).

These philosophers may be compared to the schoolmen of Europe. They were no longer satisfied with the earlier unsystematic exposition of the Confucian ethics, but called metaphysics to their aid and transformed the groups of aphorisms and precepts into an ontological philosophy. As the schoolmen mingled with the teachings of the prophets and apostles elements drawn from Grecian and Eastern philosophy, so did these Chinese schoolmen mingle elements drawn from Buddhism and Taoism in their system based ostensibly on the classics. Their indebtedness to these two

¹³ The Middle Kingdom, Vol. II, p. 174.

¹⁴ Mayers's "Manual," p. 34.

religions was none the less real because of their vehement rejection of both as heretical. And as the teachings of the schoolmen ruled European thought for centuries and were the medium through which the words of Christ were studied, so were the teachings of the Tei-Shu school supreme in the East and the medium through which China and Japan studied and accepted the words of the Sages. To disregard their philosophy and suppose that the earlier and simpler teaching has remained supreme, is as if we should disregard the whole historical development of theology and state that the synoptic gospels have contented Europe for eighteen hundred years.

Shushi was born in the year 1180 and died in the year 1200. He was historian and statesman as well as commentator and philosopher. Educated in Buddhism and Taoism, he rejected both and completed the system of Ch'eng. He was repeatedly employed by the emperor in posts of high importance, but finally died in retirement. His system has remained the standard in China and no deviation from his teaching has been permitted in the examinations. His commentary is the orthodox exposition and his philosophy the accepted metaphysic.¹⁵ "The Sect of the Learned" designates his followers.

¹⁵ Shushi's name is variously written by writers in China, Chu-hsi, Choo He, Chu He, Chu Hi and Ku Hsi. Dr. Legge has used much of Shushi's commentary in connection with his various translations. Accounts of his life are given by Mayer, p. 25; Meadows, *The Chinese*, Chap. XVIII; in the *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XVIII, p. 206 f. A section of his writings has been translated by Medhurst, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. XIII, pp. 552, 609 ff. Also by Canon McClatchie,—"Chinese Cosmogony," being "Section Forty-Nine of the Complete Works," with criticisms and defence in *The China Review*, Vol. III, p. 342 f., Vol. IV, pp. 84, 342 ff. "The Middle Kingdom" has various references to Shushi (Chu Hi), the most extended being Vol. I, pp. 682-685. An interesting account of some points in his philosophy is given by W. A. P. Martin, D. D.,—"The Cartesian Philosophy before Descartes, (Extract from the Journal of the Peking Oriental Society)." See also Faber's "Doctrines of Confucius," pp. 32-33. Rev. Griffith John, *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 37-44., *The Ethics of the Chinese*."

SHUSHI'S SYSTEM.

The philosophy of Shushi (Chu Hi) is thus described by Eitel:—"Though modern Confucianism has long discarded the belief in the one supreme God, of which their classical writings still preserve a dead record, and though they substituted for the personal God whom their forefathers worshipped, an abstract entity, devoid of personality, devoid of all attributes whatsoever, yet they look upon nature not as a dead inanimate fabric, but as a living, breathing organism. They see a golden chain of spiritual life running through every form of existence and binding together, as in one living body, everything that subsists in heaven above or on earth beneath. What has so often been admired in the natural philosophy of the Greeks,—that they made nature live; that they saw in every stone, in every tree, a living spirit; . . .—this poetical, emotional and reverential way of looking at natural objects, is equally a characteristic of natural science in China."

There is a "child-like reverence for the living powers of nature," a "sacred awe and trembling fear of the unseen," a "firm belief in the reality of the invisible world and its constant intercommunication with the seen and temporal."

"Choo-He's mode of thinking has in fact been adopted by modern Confucianism." According to him "there was in the beginning one abstract principle or monad, called the 'absolute nothing,' which evolved out of itself the 'great absolute.' This abstract principle or monad, the great absolute, is the primordial cause of all existence. When it first moved, its breath¹⁶ or vital energy congealing, produced the great male principle. When it had moved to the utter-

¹⁶ "Between heaven and earth there is nothing so important, so almighty and omnipresent as this breath of nature. . . Through it heaven and earth and every creature live and move and have their being. Nature's breath is, in fact, but the spiritual energy of the male and female principles." "Feng-shui," p. 45.

most it rested, and in resting produced the female principle. After it had rested to the utmost extent, it again moved, and thus went on in alternate motion and rest without cessation. When this supreme cause divided itself into male and female that which was above constituted heaven, and that which was beneath formed the earth. Thus it was that heaven and earth were made. But the supreme cause having produced by evolution the male and female principles, and through them heaven and earth, ceased not its constant permutations, in the course of which men and animals, vegetables and minerals, rose into being. The same vital energy, moreover, continued to act ever since, and continued to act through those two originating causes, the male and female powers of nature, which ever since mutually and alternately push and agitate one another, without a moment's intermission.

Now, the energy animating the two principles is called in Chinese K'e (Japanese Ki), or the breath of nature. When this breath first went forth and produced the male and female principles and finally the whole universe, it did not do so arbitrarily or at random, but followed fixed, inscrutable, and immutable laws. These laws or order of nature, called Li, were therefore abstractly considered prior to the issuing of the vital breath, and must therefore be considered separately. Again, considering this Li (Japanese Ri), or the general order of the universe, the ancient sages observed that all the laws of nature and all the workings of its vital breath are in strict accordance with certain mathematical principles, which may be traced or illustrated by diagrams, exhibiting the numerical proportion of the universe called Su, or numbers. But, . . . these three principles are not directly cognizable to the senses : they are hidden from view and only become manifest through forms and outlines of physical nature."¹⁷

¹⁷ "Feng-shui," pp. 5-9., See "Ki, Ri and Ten" below. Also my "Comment" below for a further exposition, differing somewhat from Eitel's.

ITS JAPANESE OPPONENTS.

This is the system which came to Japan in the 17th century and won the adherence of all educated men. It displaced Buddhism at once and finally in the regard of the higher classes. Buddhism indeed made no defence but accepted its fate. Later on however the orthodox Chinese philosophy encountered other enemies. The revival of an interest in history, fostered by the Tokugawa, was followed by a revived interest in Pure Shintō, a Shintō disentangled from its Buddhistic ally and restored to its supposed early form. This religion was intensely national and intensely anti-Chinese in spirit.¹⁸ It waged its war, not wholly without effect, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It affected somewhat the later writers of the Chinese school. But the followers of Confucius, or better of Shushi, to the end commanded the assent of the great majority of educated men. And this, too, in spite of still another attack. This was made by the school of Ōyōmei 王陽明. In opposition to the "scientific philosophy" of Shu-shi it sought to substitute an idealistic intuitionism.

Shushi attempted to agree with the differing schools of Chinese thought, bringing them together in spite of their inherent differences. He was to this extent an eclectic. He was strongly conservative and held fast to the past, it being understood of course that his own interpretation was to be accepted as the teaching of the past. He was historian and commentator as well as philosopher. Already in his own time his views met opposition in favour of a free development of thought. And among the men of his time Rikusōsan¹⁹

¹⁸ See "The Revival of Pure Shin-tan," pp. 13-14, 21-34.

¹⁹ 陸象山 b. 1140 A. D. "In opposition to the critical philosophical erudition of Chu-hsi, Lu desires rectification of heart and life to be the main point, as the commencement and aim of study. There is no doubt that in this Confucius stands on his side." Faber's "Doctrines of Confucius," p. 33.

insisted that his own heart, and not the past should be the chief object of study. He however wrote little and his first great follower was Ōyōmei.

ŌYŌMEI.

Ōyōmei was born in the year 1472 A. D. and died in the year 1528. He was a provincial governor "and in this capacity gained high renown through his conduct of military affairs. In 1518 he subdued an insurrection in Kiang-si and in 1527, conducted a campaign against the wild tribes in northern Kwang-si."²⁰ He is famous for his humour and for his fine literary style. His style is clear and intellectual, and no one has since equalled it in China or Japan. He was peculiarly fond of studies pertaining to war. He was also a poet of originality and power. In China many scholars accepted his doctrine at once, but in Japan his following has been small, for the Tokugawa government gave its patronage wholly to the school of Shushi and forbade the public teaching of the doctrines of Ōyōmei.

Ōyōmei was not a repeater of past wisdom, nor a commentator: he sought to find all truth within his own heart. He cared nothing for the scientific investigation of the outer world, nor for the study of history. He even thought that all reading might be dispensed with and refused to commiserate a scholar who was lamenting the loss of his sight, Ōyōmei assuring him that he should be content, since he bore all truth within his own heart and needed not eyes to aid in studying that.

SPIRIT AND LAW.

Differing thus in method he also denied the fundamental positions of the philosophy of Shushi. The latter, as we have

²⁰ Mayers's "Manual," p. 246. This brief paragraph is all I have been able to find in English. A lecture recently given by Prof. Inoue of the Imperial University is the authority for my account of Ōyōmei and his philosophy. Printed in the *Rikugo Zasshi*—Feb. 1892.

seen, taught the existence of both "ki" and "ri," spirit and law. His conception of "ki" corresponded to the Stoic doctrine of "pneuma."²¹ Ki by no means necessarily implies personality. Sometimes it is described as if it were the essence, the inner power, of all things. It is not "spiritual" in our modern and defined use of the word. It is identified with the air. It exists in all things. All things may be called "ki," the grass, the trees, the human body. But man's heart is also "ki" and shows its nature when the passions are aroused. From this point of view we might think Shushi as strict a materialist as the Stoics, but then too we should interpret matter in the Stoic and not in the modern sense. There are formless ki and ki impalpable and invisible. Over against the ki is placed the "ri," the law, the principle of nature. Ri is invisible and is the same as the "Way," as reason. It is not however merely abstract, for then would it be the same as the Buddhist "nature." Ri is an entity as real as ki, indeed even more truly an entity for it (theoretically) preceded ki and ki depends on it.²² Still in the actual world there is no ki without ri and no ri without ki. Man's heart, his ki, is polished and refined by the ri, so the ri must be studied and thus the fundamental process is "the distinction of things."²³ If we do not thus "know," even the best action will not avail.²⁴

²¹ Pneuma "is the totality of all existence; out of it the whole visible universe proceeds, hereafter to be resolved into it again. . . . Out of it separated first the elemental fire, and this again condenses into air; a further step in the downward path derives water and earth from the solidification of air. . . . From the elements the one substance is transformed into the multitude of individual things." Enc. Brit., art. Stoics. Compare pp. 46-47 below.

²² For an example of the process of this "reification of the concept" see p. 47 below.

²³ This method professes to rest upon a phrase of Confucius. "the distinction of things." See p. 48 note, below.

²⁴ P. 72 below.

ÖYÖMEI'S IDEALISM.

Now Öyōmei was an idealist and would have none of this distinction into *ki* and *ri*. Outside of the heart itself there is no *ri*, no law, no principle. The heart and the *ri* are identical. All the *ri* is contained within the heart and there is no place for "the distinction of things." The heart is the same as the "Way" and the "Way" is the same as "Heaven." If a man knows his heart, he knows the "Way" and if he knows the "Way" he knows Heaven. All depends on purifying the heart. Good and evil are all of it, and there is neither good nor evil apart from it. Men are all good as Shushi, after Mencius, taught, and can all purify their hearts if they will, though in this too there are natural differences. All men are divided into three classes, and the highest have an intuitive knowledge that is their own innate standard. This innate knowledge is however in all men; make it clear and all is clear. And it is purified by obedience to the five relations and the five virtues. We gain nothing from without; all is already within and needs only to be thus studied by obedience. To act is to know. If we say we know, we already act or we do not truly know. Knowledge is the beginning of action and action is the completion of knowledge.

Thus ethical science is the only science and nothing else is worthy of our attention or thought.²⁵

Öyōmei fully accepted idealism. He asserted that apart from our hearts there is nothing. The flower comes into existence when it becomes known and ceases to be when it passes out of our knowledge. But he also teaches a cosmological idealism, as he asserts that there is this all important innate knowledge, the best endowment of man, in everything, in grasses, stones, trees, in Heaven and in Earth.

²⁵ Öyōmei's system may be studied in the 傳習錄, Den-shu-roku, the Zen-sho and Zen-shu, 陽明全書 陽明全集.

By virtue of it each thing is itself and all partake of the same ethical law.

Ōyōmei was in his early years a believer in Buddhism and his writings show strong marks of its influence, but he rejected it as a system. He taught that his purpose differed from the Buddhist. The end of his doctrine was not self-absorption in mystic contemplation, but the attainment of virtue, the attainment of the practical virtue needed by men alive and of the world.

JAPANESE FOLLOWERS OF ŌYŌMEI.

The profound repugnance this system excited among the followers of Shushi is well represented in the Shunda-Zatsuwa.²⁶ The government of the Shōgun forbade its propagation and permitted only the orthodox teaching in its schools. Several well known scholars are reputed followers of Ōyōmei, although their published writings do not expressly indicate the fact. Among others is Nakai Tōju (Ōmi Seijin). He lived in the first half of the seventeenth century and was a voluminous writer. In his writings on ethics he does not profess his dependence on Ōyōmei, yet agrees with him in all the essentials of his system.

THE OKINA MONDŌ.

"How can we be sure then of the proper course of conduct? Hold fast in our hearts the great principles of unselfishness and humility, cast evil out of our hearts and follow truth."²⁷ His teaching does not expressly differ from the "orthodox" school, yet his emphasis is different. He exalts "heart learning," insists upon the supreme duty of "polishing the illustrious virtue" of our hearts and proclaims the Confucian laws to be the "manifestation of the virtues of the heart." To him the heart learning is in all, but the sage intuitively beholds it

²⁶ Pp. 28 f. below.

²⁷ Okina mondō. Vol. II p. 3.

while others are indebted to his teaching. Still may all, even the ignorant, attain the blessedness of virtue, as the heart learning extends from lowest to highest, and all go therein, yet with distinction of powers and place. "The great highway is for all, but the travellers are not of equal strength. There are men and women, old and young, weak and strong; for every one there is a duty suited to his powers, and doing that he fulfils the law of filial piety."²⁸ "But," objects the questioner, "this virtue is so broad that I cannot attain it." And the answer is,—“That is the suggestion of a bad heart. You can attain it just because it is so broad. The light of sun and moon goes everywhere, and each one according to the strength of his eyes can use it; so every one, man and woman, learned and unlearned alike, can obey this virtue according to each one's ability. In Heaven it is called Heaven's 'Way' and on earth, earth's 'Way.' Originally it had no name, but for the sake of teaching the ignorant the Sages called it 'filial obedience' ”²⁹ “It dwells in the universe as the spirit dwells in man. It has no beginning nor end. Without it is neither time nor being. In all the universe there is nothing without it. As man is the head of the universe, its image in miniature, filial obedience is in both body and spirit and is the pivot of his existence.” “As a looking-glass reflects many shapes and colours but is itself unchanged, so does filial obedience reflect all the virtues, itself unchangeable. All the virtues, all duties may be resolved into it, and it is called filial obedience, because obedience to parents is the beginning of the 'Way.' Its essence is to perceive that as our bodies are derived from our parents and are yet one with them, so are their bodies derived from the spirit of heaven and earth, and the spirit of heaven and earth is the offspring of the spirit of the universe; thus my body is one with the universe and the gods. Clearly perceiving this

²⁸ Okina Mondō, Vol. V. p. 35.

²⁹ “ “ Vol. I. p. 3.

truth and acting in accordance with it is obedience to the 'Way.' This 'obedience is like the great sea, and the various relationships are like vessels with which we dip out the water; as the vessel is big or small, round or square, so the water appears, but it is all alike the water of the great sea.'²⁸

It is this implicit dependence upon the intuitions of the heart that gives the system of Ōyōmei its attractiveness to many Japanese. "His followers were few, but were all strong men,"²⁹ we are told. And on the other hand,— "Shushi's teaching is admirable but it weakened and enervated the spirit of the Japanese."³⁰

DIFFERENCES AND AGREEMENTS.

The two systems differ, but their points of agreement are more than their divergencies. They are mere varieties of the Jukyō, "The Sect of the Learned." Both rest upon the same fundamental ethical propositions, however distinct their more metaphysical principles. They are alike in the belief that righteousness is life. The shortest time is sufficient, is the "true long life," if spent in conformity to the 'Way.' A clear perception of the 'Way' includes all the rest; this is the true long life and wealth and peace, for if the heart be at rest outward circumstances matter not. And an evil heart includes all the curses; sights and sounds are painful; even without outward sorrow there is no rest."³¹ Both rest their authority ultimately upon the classics, though the Ōyōmei school put less stress upon mere learning. "If one sentence of the Book of Changes be mastered it will teach all that is in the classics. But the Book of Changes is diffi-

²⁸ Okina Mondō, Vol. I. pp. 3-7. The Okina Mondō is a posthumous work of Nakai Tōju printed in 1650 A.D. I printed an abridged translation in "The Chrysanthemum," Vol. II., Nos 3, 4, 6, 8.

²⁹ Prof. T. Inoue.

³⁰ The Rev. M. Uemura.

³¹ Okina Mondō, Vol. II., p. 34.

cult of comprehension, so Confucius wrote the Classic of Filial Piety. This will suffice; but after it is mastered, according to time and strength we are to go on to others." This doubtless is a point of great practical difference, the orthodox school recommending a study of the books that shall occupy the entire life. Yet both agree in reprobating a scholarship that is apart from morals, that is not expressed in action, that does not govern the life. "True learning is disregard of self, obedience to the 'Way' and the observance of the five relations. Its eye-ball is humility. Wide learning applies all this to the heart. False learning desires the honour of wide learning, envies those who excel, wishes only for fame and makes pride its eye-ball. It has nothing to do with obedience and the more one has the worse he is. Let us beware lest we tread the evil way leading down to the brutes and the dominion of the devils. False learning fosters this pride and never thinks of casting it away."²² "Humble folk who obey but cannot read are taught by others; not reading it is as if they read. That is heart-reading, for it conforms to the heart of the Sages. Mere reading with the eye while the heart is far away is not true reading; it is to read as if reading not. In the age of the gods, imitation of the conduct of the Sages was true learning. Now there are no Sages, and true learning consists in understanding the classics and regulating conduct thereby. Thus may we polish the illustrious jewel of our hearts. To cast away the classics and trust our dark misled hearts, is to cast away the candle and seek in the dark for that which is lost."²³

ATTACK ON BUDDHISM.

Both systems strongly express their hatred of Buddhism and ignore their indebtedness to its teaching. "In India Shaka (Buddha) himself never got beyond the outside

²² Okina Mondō, Vol. III., pp. 10-12.

²³ " " Vol. III., pp. 12-14. Compare pp. 61 below.

of things. His purpose was indeed good but he was ignorant of the essential principles. After his death even the semblance of truth disappeared, and his system dissuaded from virtue and excited to evil. It is to be classed with Taoism, and is a thorn in the 'Way,' an obstruction to the gate of truth; it is to be avoided as one would flee an evil voice and the temptations of lust."²⁴

Ōmi Seijin was the first great writer on the Chinese philosophy in Japan and his memory is still cherished as a man pure in life, strong in influence and great in letters. He established a school and had many followers, of whom Kumazawa Banzō is the best known. Later Ōshio Heihachirō is the chief representative of the Ōyōmei school. He left little in writing, but is everywhere known for fierce opposition to Tokugawa and his connection with the Ōsaka insurrection of 1839.²⁵

THE ORTHODOX SCHOOL.

The scholar who is usually said to have been the first exponent of the Chinese philosophy is Seiga. He wrote no books. The great scholars of the orthodox school formed a group at the end of the seventeenth century. Of these men the best known is Arai Hakuseki. With his name are associated the names Ito Jinsai, Ogyū Sōrai²⁶ and Yamazaki Ansai.

²⁴ Okina Mondō, Vol. IV., pp. 1-18.

²⁵ During a time of scarcity Ōshio's wrath was excited by the heartless conduct of an official in Ōsaka who refused to remit the taxes. So Ōshio, influenced by his philosophical views to a democratic disregard of official rank and right, led an assault upon the government warehouses, took out the grain and distributed it to the people. The rising was quickly put down and Ōshio suffered death as a criminal. Another account says that en route to Satsuma he was lost at sea—"Dai Ni Hon Jim-mei Ji-sho. Vol. I: 大日本人名辞書. It is possible that the teachings of the Ōyōmei school were more dangerous to the existing order than appears to a foreign student, and that Tokugawa knew its own interests best as it forbade their propagation.

²⁶ Jinsai and Sōrai were not orthodox. See Mr. Haga's "Note" below.

These writers were transmitters of the wisdom of the Chinese and worshipped at the shrine of Tei-Shu. No Western ever held more closely to the plenary inspiration of the Bible as expounded by his favourite commentator than these men to the Chinese Classics. They contain the absolute, eternal truth of Heaven and Earth. By it the universe with all its hosts were formed. This "Way" is the unchanging wisdom, the everlasting reason, the Divine archetype. No deviation from it can go unpunished and no variation in its exposition can be endured. It is not more remarkable that the Japanese orthodoxy attempted no improvement, no amendment in the Classics, than that our orthodox writers attempted no improvement or change in our sacred text. As western writers on theology fill their pages with Biblical references, these writers on the Chinese philosophy fill their pages with allusions to the classics. Direct quotations abound, and references and phrases, so that every sentence has its classical colour.

It is surprising that the Japanese scholars have attempted no systematic exposition of either the orthodox or the heterodox philosophy. They have been content to go to the writings of Shushi and of his Chinese expositors. So too have his commentaries satisfied them. There is not an original and valuable commentary by a Japanese writer. They have been content to brood over the imported works and to accept unquestioningly politics, ethics and metaphysics.⁸⁷

WANT OF ORIGINALITY.

This foreign system moulded the intellectual life of the nation. Within its boundaries thought moved and was confined. As the new was forbidden so was the old cast off. Buddhism and Shintō were as heretical as the teaching

⁸⁷ The Ancient Learning School "Kogaku" also rested upon the modern Chinese School.—Faber's *Doctrines of Confucius*, p. 34; and Mr. Haga's "Note" below.

of Ōyōmei. Society, government, education, literature, religion and ethics, all were supplied from this one source. Buddhism, as we have seen, influenced the thought of the Chinese philosophers, but it was permitted no new influence, it was permitted to add no new ideas here in Japan where it had been supreme for a thousand years. Shintō effected no modification. And the Japanese produced no scholar who could do more than repeat what he had been taught. Yet this philosophy in thus permeating the nation's life could not fail to be modified. It felt the influence of the national ideals. It varied from its original standard, yet not as modified in statement or in system but as insensibly taking on a new colour and feeling a new spirit.

It follows that one cannot readily point out the distinguishing characteristics of the Chinese philosophy in Japan. There is certainly a difference. Here the samurai takes to himself the title reserved in China for the literati and adds arms to letters. The vocation of arms occupies thus the highest place of honour. So too does loyalty take precedence of filial obedience and the ethical philosopher can praise without qualification men who desert parents, wife and children for the feudal lord.³⁸ And with this loyalty is an undue exaltation of a disregard of life, an exaltation that comes near to canonizing those who kill themselves no matter how causelessly, no matter though crime be the reason for an enforced suicide.³⁹ The impetuous, uncompromising, warlike, partisan character of the people is reflected in their morals.

CONFUCIANISM AND THE PEOPLE.

The Confucian literature in Japan so far instructed the mass of the people as to provide summaries of moral rules for them. But these moral rules could exist in harmony

³⁸ Similar instances are found, of course, in Chinese history.

³⁹ Pp. 41-42 below

with a prevailing Buddhism. And as in China for centuries and in Japan for a thousand years the Chinese ethics knew no quarrel with the religion of the Buddha, so even after the educated men in Japan had given up Buddhism it still retained its full power over the lower classes and could incorporate the Confucian ethics with itself.

One effort, long continued, was made to win the people not merely to the Confucian ethics but to the foreign philosophy. Toward the close of the eighteenth century a school of popular preachers expounded the rudiments of the Chinese system to the people. They made such concessions to Buddhism as they thought the case demanded, but sought to substitute their system for the people's faith. They continued in a succession until the middle of the nineteenth century but their failure was complete. They made no lasting impression upon the nation's mind. The Chinese philosophy remained the exclusive possession of the higher classes.⁴⁰

THE REJECTION OF BUDDHISM.

The choice of the Chinese philosophy and the rejection of Buddhism was not because of any inherent quality in the Japanese mind. It was not the rejection of supernaturalism or of the miraculous. The Chinese philosophy is as supernaturalistic as some forms of Buddhism. The distinction is not between the natural and the supernatural in either system but between the seen and the unseen. The Chinese philosophy does not reject the extraordinary; it has a belief in an all-pervading natural "law", but the wonderful and the prodigious are contained therein. It too has its Theo-

⁴⁰ Numerous translations of the sermons of this school have been printed, among the earliest in A. B. Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan" pp. 288-326. The sermons called *Kyūō Dōwa* and *Shingaku Michi no Hanashi* are best known. Besides these there are among others; —*Shō-ō Michi no Hanashi*, *Dōni-ō Dō-wa*, *Shingaku-kyōyū-roku*, and *Zoku-zoku Kyūō Dōwa*.

phanies and its faith-compelling signs. It was not the rejection of a religion for a philosophy, for Buddhism can be as philosophical as Shushi or Ōyōmei, in fact these drew much of their doctrine from its stores. And the Chinese philosophy is as religious as the original teaching of Gautama. Neither Shushi nor Gautama believed in a Creator, but both believed in gods and demons. By the twelfth century A. D. the earlier belief in monotheism, granting that once there was such belief in China, had disappeared. In a single passage the Shundai Zatsuwa seems to indicate belief in one personal God, but the expressions fade away, and there remains only a belief in the Divinity of the immanent forces of the universe.⁴¹ It holds to "a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness" and to our constant dependence upon the Unseen. It has little place for prayer, but has a vivid sense of the Infinite and the Unseen and fervently believes that right conduct is in accord with the "eternal verities." Its morality "is touched with emotion."

THE ETERNAL VERITIES.

In neither Shushi nor Ōyōmei is there firm grasp of the idea of personality. As there is no personal Creator, man is the highest expression of the forces of the universe. Even gods and devils fear his "determined mind." But as in the makrokosm so in the mikrokosm: the ultimate realities are force and law. Man has no immortal soul. He is highest in the scale of existence, yet is he only one in the endless series. The station is greater than the individual and it determines him. His whole duty is to live as befits his station. The Buddhist doctrine that a man may leave his station and become a priest is to be abhorred. It comes from the false doctrine of "three worlds." Shaka forsook his kingdom and became a hermit. He did not know fully the truth. To the Confucianist such asceticism is the act of

⁴¹ P. 50 below.

a madman. Every man is to follow the "Way" with unshaken heart in the station in which he was born. To think certain acts virtuous is the error of the ignorant and the heretical."⁴²

THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

For all evil is disarrangement. Confusion is the essence of evil. Strictly speaking there is no other evil. "Nothing is bad by nature but everything is good, yet with a distinction of rank." When this distinction of rank is preserved all are good. But this ideal goodness is rarely realized. "The gods are the activity of Heaven and Earth, the excellent power of the In and Yō, and of the true 'law.' But as the gods come to the world there is both good and evil. For though the working throughout the four seasons of the five elements is of no evil at all, still as that 'spirit' is scattered throughout the universe and confused there arise unexpected winds, heat, cold and storms."⁴³ So is it with man and all that is his. As a part of nature he too is good, originally good, but as his "nature is individualized both good and evil appear."⁴⁴ Let him put himself in harmony with the true nature,—above all let him obey with unshaken heart, and all will be well.

So with the state, crime is "confusion." The ancient order has been lost and therefore evil appears. "In the time of old the Sage was on the throne; the Superior Man was next in authority and all who ruled were wise, the stupid occupying their natural position below the rest. So from highest to lowest wisdom determined the rank and there was none evil. The only distinction was of superior and inferior."⁴⁵ And the Sage ruled by doing "nothing." It was enough that he was enrobed, enthroned, with folded

⁴² The Okina Mondō, Vol. V. pp-17-18.

⁴³ P. 55 below.

⁴⁴ P. 55 below. •

⁴⁵ The Okina Mondō, Vol. II., p. 31.

arms. Not by vain exertions and strife may the empire or the individual be ruled. It is by doing nothing, by letting nature have its way that a Divine excellence is attained.

THE DEEPER SELF.

Man's deepest "self" lies hidden far below his changing "self" of act and thought and desire and will. In mysterious darkness it is nourished and by doing naught. Let not man break in on that depth; let him not direct and will and wish. The springs of his being reach down to the springs of the universe itself. Without selfishness, without rash self-determination, let the truer, deeper "self" be nourished and from that strength the life will come and then in act and word there shall be no danger of a fall.⁴⁶ And at death man shall return to the all pervading spirit, "as a vapour in the sky melts away, as a drop mingles with the sea, as fire disappears in fire."⁴⁷ He can have no immortal soul. For his conscious self there is "nothing beyond slipping into the grave." His highest hope is that his influence for good may survive; and his greatest fear is that his memory may be accursed.⁴⁸ He worships his ancestors as commanded by the Sages, but that worship does not necessarily imply the doctrine of a conscious, personal immortality.⁴⁹ "The soul wholly dis-

⁴⁶ P. 60 below. Compare a certain phase of Christian mysticism:—"Oh to be nothing, nothing;" "A broken and empty vessel;" "Emptied, that He might fill me;" "Broken, that so unhindered, His life through me might flow."

⁴⁷ The *Okina Mondō*, Vol. V p. 26.

⁴⁸ P. 40 below.

⁴⁹ The worship of ancestors remains an inconsistency difficult of explanation in Shushi's philosophy. He teaches (in the *Gorui* 語類) that at death we are like the flame: it ascends and disappears yet we cannot say that it has ceased to be. It is the law that man's spirit (*ki* 氣) dissolves at death, vanishes into thin air; but there are exceptions. When men naturally, and, so to speak, willingly die the spirit thus dissolves, but when they die violently, with strong protest, the spirit remains for a time collected and may return and show it-

solves at death but my spirit is one with the spirit of my ancestors. So though all other spirits dissolve yet does the root of this remain and when I worship their spirits gather again. So it was that the Sages enforced this worship. And as my spirit is one with the spirit of my ancestors, so is the spirit of the noble one with the spirit of his dominion, and when he worships the spirits of the dead respond. When I speak of the universe there is indeed only one spirit; when I speak of myself, my spirit is the spirit of my ancestors and so it is that when I 'feel,' they 'respond.'

ADOPTED ON FAITH.

Without critical examination and upon faith Japan accepted the Chinese philosophy. Once it had accepted the Chinese ethics in alliance with the Buddhist religion; as trustingly it adopted the philosophy of Tei-Shu with all its hostility to the Indian faith. Nor did the "eclipse of faith" cost the scholars of the period of the Tokugawa any heart burnings. Buddhism went at once at the bidding of this new comer and left "not a wrack behind." In acceptance and rejection alike no native originality emerges, nothing beyond a vigorous power of adoption and assimilation. No improvements in the new philosophy were even attempted. Wherein it was defective and indistinct, defective and indistinct it remained. The system was not thought out to its end and independently adopted. Polemics, ontology, ethics, theology, marvels, heroes, all were enthusiastically adopted on faith. It is to be added that the new system was superior to the old, and this much of discrimination was shown.

It is not my purpose to discuss the Chinese philosophy, not even the Tei-Shu philosophy as represented in Japan.

self and work harm. A man who was killed by his adulterous wife appeared to her undoing, for his hatred held his spirit together until vengeance was executed. But such exceptions are only for a time; finally all alike return to the primeval spirit. Shushi thus saves his philosophy and his orthodoxy.

I desire to represent the spirit and thought of Old Japan, of the educated men of the Tokugawa period. And a Japanese can best do this, a Japanese who gives his account with undisturbed faith and who is a recognized master among his countrymen. In the *Shundai Zatsuwa* of Kyusō Murō we have the ruling ideas of the Japan that has forever passed away.

MURŌ NAOKIYO.

Murō Naokiyo was born in Yanaka, in Musashi, on the 30th March, 1658. From the home of his ancestors, Ega-gori in Bichu, he called himself Ega. From his earliest childhood he was distinguished for his love of books and unremitting diligence in study. His life was the wholly uneventful career of a professional scholar. When fifteen years of age he went to Kaga and was employed by the prince of that province. Here he lived in a dismantled cottage which he named *The Pigeon-nest*, and from the cottage he adopted the same name for himself, *Kyu-sō*, a name by which he was thenceforth known, and that is inscribed on his tomb.

Once when expounding *The Great Learning* before his prince the latter was so greatly pleased that he sent Kyusō to Kyōto to continue his studies in the school of the celebrated Kinoshita Jun-an. Here Kyusō took first rank and made great progress both in acquirements and in literary style.

From the year 1711 until his death he was employed by the Tokugawa Government and wrote several books at its command. He received the highest honour the Government could bestow, and rose to great influence and authority. He was the devoted advocate of the Tokugawa family and of the orthodox school of Chinese philosophy, and made small attempt to moderate his expressions when writing of their enemies. It was during his life that the famous forty-seven ronin performed their exploit, and Kyusō gave them the name by which they are still remembered, *Gi-shi*, the Righteous Samurai.

He died on the 9th September, 1734, and was buried at his own request in Edo, Ōdzuka, Tsukuba-yama-no-ushiro, his grave marked by a simple stone engraved, "Kyusō Murō Sensei no Haka," the grave of the scholar Kyusō Murō.⁵⁰

Since his death his reputation has increased, and he has taken a distinguished place among the scholars of Japan, being especially remembered for his great learning.

THE SHUNDAI ZATSUWA.

The Shundai Zatsuwa, Suruga Dai Miscellany, thus named from Kyusō's residence on Suruga Dai, is a posthumous work first published by his grandson in the year 1750. It purports to be a collection of talks with his friends and pupils. They would linger a while after Kyusō had completed his exposition of the Chinese books, asking questions and discussing themes suggested by the lecture. And these conversations written down were made into this book. It belongs to the class called "miscellanies," the works which best represent the spirit and the attainments of the Japanese scholars.⁵¹

The Sundai Zatsuwa covers a somewhat wide range. It contains polemic against the enemies of the faith, metaphysics, fundamental ethical principles, politics, religion, the art of war, and the laws of literature and poetry.

It has not been necessary for my purpose to translate all. The literary criticisms, the discussions of poetry and of military strategy have been omitted. So too have many of the historical incidents. Where these incidents illustrate

⁵⁰ The 光哲叢談 is the authority for these statements. His burial place is in the section of the city now called Koishikawa. He wrote many books; among them the most celebrated are the following: 大學新義義人錄 五常五倫名義 六倫衍義大意 駁台雜詠 朝鮮客舍詩 文稿 士說補正成諸士教 國喪正義 詠可錄 神儒問答 西銘洋議 大極圖述

⁵¹ Such collections are among the most valuable of the writings of the Chinese also, Confucius and Shushi, among others, using this method.

ethical principles or the ideas of the school they have been retained. But Kyusō felt moved to rescue the memory of the righteous dead from oblivion, and relates incidents which add nothing to our understanding of his ethical and philosophical views. Many Chinese allusions and illustrations have been omitted. The book is famous for its learning, and abounds in phrases and incidents that are of significance only to one thoroughly versed in Chinese history and literature. Some liberty, therefore, in the way of condensation has been taken. As the work is not a classic, and as the purpose is to set forth the ruling ideas and spirit of the Chinese philosophy in Japan, it has been thought wise to sacrifice something of technical scholarship to intelligibility. And it may be added, the retention of the literary and historical allusions in their fulness would precisely defeat the author's purpose, his ornaments in Japanese becoming blemishes in English. All that sets forth the philosophy and religion, the ethics and politics both theoretical and applied, with copious historical illustrations, have been translated. Perhaps half of the text is represented here.

The sacred memories of the past, the treasures of philosophy and religion, the high aspirations after benevolence and righteousness, the ideals of the individual and of the state stand in the Shundai Zatsuwa, upon a literary background flowing, full, poetic. No attempt has been made to transfer this literary flavour, and at the end of his labours, comparing the result with the original, the barrenness and baldness of the one with the richness and smoothness of the other, the translator can only adopt as his own the author's lament ;—" Though his philosophy is the famous music of the world, yet now is it like Eikaku's Song of Spring among a people of barbarous speech."

SHUNDAI ZATSUWA. BOOK ONE.—BENEVOLENCE.

THE AGED SCHOLAR'S PREFACE.

I was born in Musashi, and when my hair was first fastened in a queue studied the Chinese poetry and history. Thenceforth I wrote essays on themes which interested me, presented my writings to the daimyō and was entertained in their mansions. Or, with my box of books upon my back I lived like a traveller in Kyōto. Afterwards I made my home in the north,² ever studying the ancient writings, and constantly strengthened my purpose to perfect myself to the end of life. But, unexpectedly, I was summoned by my lord and returned to my native place.³ Thus have I grown old and imbecile and wait for death to pillow my head upon the hills. Many years and months have passed away and now at seventy-four, in the old age of horse or dog, though I love learning and purpose to follow the "Way," I have no virtue that fits me to be leader or teacher. Nor have I ability for aught else, and stay useless in the world. This is far other than I had purposed. So I expound that which I have learned to those who believe in the Old Man and come to him with questions. If I can help future scholars it will be the reward for my long life, and in illness and pain I comment constantly upon the books.⁴

One day after the exposition, when the talk was of the changes in the learning since the times of the Sō, one of

¹ The five books are named after the five cardinal virtues, but without especial significance.

² At fourteen or fifteen years of age his hair was tied in a queue. He lived with the samurai. And his home in the North was Kaga.

³ To Edo, by the Shōgun.

⁴ The expressions of humility are conventional. Kyusō had the highest influence and honours given by the Tokugawa to a scholar. He was admitted to the immediate presence of the Shōgun and was consulted on affairs of state.

those present expressed doubts as to the philosophy of Tei-Shu;⁵ and the Old Man replied:—

When young I too studied with worthless teachers. I conned words and wasted time until suddenly I perceived the folly of such study and resolved to seek that wisdom of the men of old which is for one's self.⁶ Yet alas! Without teacher or friend I was bewildered by the conflicting opinions of scholars, and half doubted, half believed the teaching of Tei-Shu. So the time still passed in vain until I was forty years of age when I fully accepted this philosophy,⁶ understanding that nothing could take its place. For thirty years I have read and pondered it. Looking at its heights, how transcendent! Seeking to divide it, how compact! Yet is it neither too far away and high, nor too shallow and near at hand! Should Sages again appear they would follow it! For the "Way" of Heaven and Earth is the "Way" of Gyō and Shun;⁷ the "Way" of Gyō and Shun is the "Way" of Confucius and Mencius; and the "Way" of Confucius and Mencius is the "Way" of Tei-Shu. Forsaking Tei-Shu we cannot find Confucius and Mencius. Forsaking Confucius and Mencius we cannot find Gyō and Shun; and forsaking Gyō and Shun we cannot find the "Way" of Heaven and Earth. Do not trust implicitly an aged scholar, but this I know and therefore speak. If I say that which is false, that which I have not verified, may I instantly be punished by Heaven and Earth.

⁵ The Sō, pp. 4-5 above. The philosophy of Tei-Shu, p. 5 above

⁶ A teaching that governs one's own life.

⁶ So Confucius "at forty had no doubts." Analects, II; IV, 3. At "fifteen he had his mind bent on learning."

⁷ The mythical Sage kings of China. Gyō according to the ordinary untrustworthy chronology began to reign B.C. 2357 and reigned 100 years, being succeeded by Shun, who reigned 50 years. "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. II, p. 148.

At this all present straightened themselves and listened intently. The Old Man⁸ continued ;—This has not waited for my oath, it has been determined these five hundred years. From Shushi's own time the great scholars of the Sō, the Gen and Min with all who followed the Ethical Philosophy have fully accepted him. Men of great learning debated, indeed, his style and minor points but said nothing against his philosophy.¹⁰ So until the middle of the Min, learning was pure and the celebrated truth unimpaired. Then came Ōyōmei with his intuitionism.¹¹ He attacked Shushi and changed the learning of the Min. After his death his pupils accepted the Zen¹² doctrines and thenceforth scholars were intoxicated with intuitionism and weary of natural philosophy. They were either mere memorizers or they were Buddhists. That men without one ten-thousandth of the learning of Tei-Shu should readily find fault is for a wren to mock a bo,¹³ for a caterpillar to measure the sea. As Kantaishi¹⁴ says,—“To sit in a well and, looking at the

⁸ Okina, the old man, is a title of respect.

⁹ The Gen (Xuen) dynasty was Mongol, A.D. 1280-1368, and was succeeded by the Min (Mings), 1368-1644. “The Middle Kingdom,” Vol. II., pp. 175-179.

¹⁰ The text here has a list of Chinese scholars whose names are omitted in the translation in accordance with what is said on p.—above. Of the Sō, Shiuseizan, Gikakuzan, of the Gen, Kiyorozai Kosōro, of the Min, Sek-kei-ken, Ko-kei-sai.

¹¹ Ōyōmei, p. 10 above. His “intuitionism” is the 良知學. See Mencius, Book VII., Part 1. Chap. XV., 1. p. 44 note below.

¹² The Zen sect of Buddhism, the contemplative sect which professes to use no book.

¹³ The bō is a fabulous bird of monstrous size. For “natural philosophy,” see “Ki Ri and Ten” below.

¹⁴ 韓退之 Kantaishi was one of the eight most celebrated literary men of China. He was of the time of the Tō (Tang). “He was foremost among the statesmen, philosophers, and poets of the T'ang dynasty and one of the most venerated names in Chinese litera-

sky, pronounce it small." But the superficial ignorant men who adopt these views because of their novelty are numberless.

In our land with peace for an hundred years learning has flourished. I cannot pronounce upon its value, but the ancient models and Tei-Shu have been firmly accepted, a cause for thankfulness. But of late some set forth false doctrine. They have established their school and gathered followers. Evil scholars appear above whom these men seek to advance themselves with senseless arguments, selfishly and wholly without shame. It is the fashion for all the dogs to join when one sets up his lying bark, so evil teachings and doctrines abound. Truly an evil fortune has befallen the ethical philosophy.

Kantaishi lived when Buddhism and Taoism flourished, and comparing himself to Mencius attacked them single handed with an oath,—“The Gods of Heaven and Earth are above, and to the right and left.”¹⁵ My oath has not the strength of Mencius but I do not purpose to fall behind the oath of Kantaishi. See to it that you do not hear in vain!”

PRIEST GENKU'S OATH.

The celebrated priest Genku sent his oath to Tsukinowa, Kujō, Kyōto. The document is still in the temple

ture. . . . In A.D. 819 he presented a remonstrance to the emperor Hien Tsung against the public honours with which he had caused an alleged relic of Buddha to be conveyed to the imperial palace. The text of Han Yu's (Kantai's) diatribe against the alien superstition is still renowned as one of the most celebrated of state papers. But its only effect was the banishment of the author. During his banishment Kantaishi laboured to civilize the barbarians with whom he lived, and his efforts are symbolized in a legend that he expelled a monstrous crocodile. Later he was restored to honour. Mayers, p. 50.

¹⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, XVI. The word for “Gods” here is *ki-shin*.

of Shin-kuro-tani. I have not seen it but have been told that it is as follows, "If those who say nembutsu¹⁶ go not to Heaven may I sink to Hell." Buddhists doubtless think that a strong oath, but from the point of view of our philosophy what could be more vain? If there is no heaven, of course there is no hell! It is easy to utter such oaths!

In the old days when retainers died with their lords,¹⁷ in a certain clan many samurai were determined thus to end their lives. Among them was one young man who was especially lamented by every one. His karō called at his house and sought to dissuade him. But in vain. Finally, however, as the karō continued importunate his multitude of words forced consent, and the samurai with an oath promised to forego his purpose. So the official went home content. But on the morrow when he went to the temple with those who had resolved to die together there with the rest was this samurai saying his farewells to the guests. The karō exclaimed: "Though you deceive me how dare you break your oath? It is impious!" But the samurai laughed as he replied, "Forgive me for deceiving you. Yesterday had I not sworn you would not have left me, so I swore to satisfy you. As to the gods, though they punish me there is nothing more than death, and as I had determined to die I swore purposing to break my oath." The karō had not a word to say.

Such was priest Genku's oath. He knew there is no Hell, nothing beyond falling into the grave. But my oath is not like these. "With sovereign Heaven above, and treading the sovereign Earth beneath,"¹⁸ by Heaven and Earth

¹⁶ The Buddhist prayer, *Namu Amida-butsu*.

¹⁷ The custom was only abolished finally in A.D. 1664; Lay's "Japanese Funeral Rites," Vol. XIX., Pt. III., p. 528 of these "Transactions." A karō was the minister of a daimyō.

¹⁸ The commentary on *The Spring and Autumn*, Book V., Year XV. p. 165 of the Chinese Classics, Legge's edition.

I swear. So like Genku I purpose to swear for my "Way" but if my oath is false I am punished by Heaven and Earth. Consider, in Buddhism "is" becomes "is not"¹⁹ and truth is made falsehood. Only as that which "is not" becomes that which "is" can we make that which "is" into that which "is not." Only as we turn lies into truth can we turn truth into lies. Though we know that this talk of Heaven and Hell is false, still is it taught as if falsehood and truth were one. So is it taught to many men without distinction of wise and foolish, that if we say nembutsu punishment will be destroyed. This is Buddha's mystery. And here in Japan are many priests who are like the founders of sects who hold this mystery in their hearts. They transfer it from heart to heart and never say that all the talk of Heaven and Hell is false. Genku's oath was such a propagating oath. There is neither Heaven for Tsukinowa nor Hell for Genku. "Is not" is put for "is" and lies for truth, that men may be separated from birth and death. Such was Buddha's purpose.

Compare their scheme with our philosophy which guides men by the very truth! The difference is as the difference between the clouds and the earth.

HERESIES MANY.

Once when the Old Man was ill his friends came to see him and he begged them to stay and cheer his loneliness. So they spent the day in conversation about the prevalent opinions. And one remarked: "I have heard the leading scholars of Edo and Kyōto. Some expound what they call our national religion and confound it with the Way of the

¹⁹ This refers to the Buddhist hōben, pious devices to lead the ignorant to virtue.

Gods : others follow Ōyōmei and his intuitionism ; and others explain the ancient learning after new principles. Where is the truth in this confusion of strange and familiar opinions ? What in your heart do you think ?" And the Old Man replied :—

"I too have heard of these schools which have established themselves and teach heresy. Their wisdom is such as you described. But I cannot agree with them. For the "Way" is from Heaven and its source is one. If we know that source we shall not distinguish the religion of our country from that of foreign lands ; nor will intuitionism be opposed to natural philosophy ; nor will the learning of the Sages be put in opposition to Tei-Shu. The classical literature teaches all this, but it is not easy nor to be understood unless studied with humble and single minds. But scholars now-a-days are proud, and few of them thoroughly study the Tei-Shu works. Without knowing even the hedge of Tei-Shu they make their own hearts supreme and readily refute those great scholars. We shall postpone the consideration of their learning. We grieve over their thin, light, restless, shallow learning. They have not thoroughly studied Confucius and Mencius and do not understand them, so how can they fail to doubt Tei-Shu ? They superficially attack them but I hear of no attacks on Confucius and Mencius. It is not that these scholars do not doubt the Sages but they know that Confucius and Mencius have been honoured and accepted by the world for two thousand years and that it will not listen to attacks upon them. But Shushi is modern and some in the age of the Min attacked him, so they feel at liberty to revile him. "They act according to the man" and not from established principles. They know that their philosophy can in no wise equal that of the Sages, and so make their excuses while they permit themselves to revile Shushi. Thus they hope to exalt themselves above him. But be that as it may !

As to Shintō, it professes to help our country and calls

the Sages rebels.²⁰ Such a "Way of the Gods" is apart from Benevolence and Righteousness.

The illustrious virtue of intuitionism is only the "nature" of the Buddhists. The intuitionists call Musashibo Benkei²¹ a samurai of wisdom, humanity and bravery! Such intuitionism is not of a heart that can distinguish good and evil.

And there are men professing the ancient learning who declare that the Great Learning is not the work of a Sage,²² and that Confucianism and Buddhism are one! Such ancient learning is apart from virtue.²³

The Old Man doubts all these teachings. Only the philosophy of Tei-Shu unites outer and inner, includes Benevolence and Righteousness, makes past and present one, and is the orthodox school descended in a straight line from Confucius and Mencius. My only deep anxiety is that its followers will merely argue and expound instead of practising what they preach. Such orthodoxy avails nothing. This evil abounded in the time of the Min, and so it was that

²⁰ See Vol. III, Appendix, of the Transactions, The "Revival of Pure Shin-tau" pp. 20-31 for the Shintō attack on the Chinese philosophy. The "holy men" of China are there called "merely successful rebels." And in like spirit were they reviled long ago in China, "The Divine Classic of Nan-Hua" Balfour's, translation, pp. 112-113.

²¹ Musashibo Benkei. The priest and robber samurai who became the most trusted retainer of Minamoto Yoshitsune.

²² If by a Sage the author means Confucius then the Great Learning is not by a Sage, but is accepted as containing his teaching. The Chinese Classics, Vol. I. Prolegomena pp. 26-27. The author in the sections devoted to literature shows some familiarity with the results at least of criticism, but he does not apply it to the classics, uncritically accepting everything as written by Confucius which tradition ascribed to him.

²³ For the Ancient Learning School, see Mr. Haga's "Note" and my "Comment" below. The "Illustrations Virtue" is a phrase of the Ōyōmei School, p. 13, above.

Öyōmei could reproach Shushi with this side issue. This is the source of heresy and the classics ever forbid such forgetfulness of practice and indulgence in empty talk. It is a subject for the most profound consideration.

THE BLIND OF HEART.

Then one remarked: "We agree that we can best overcome heresy by exhorting each other and striving after right-conduct. So did Mencius when he replied to the attack of Yo-Bu²⁴ for he disregarded the charge of being disputatious and concluded his exposition of fundamental principles saying: "The superior man returns to the right line." Still more should we degrade the "Way" now-a-days when heresies and heretics are like weeds on a plain and evit principles and contemptible opinions are like the fallen leaves of a forest, were we to reply to each one. Recently I was astounded at the words of a philosopher: "The way comes not from Heaven," said he, "it was invented by the sages. Nor is it in accord with nature; it is a mere matter of æsthetics and ornament."²⁵ Of the five relations only the conjugal is natural, while loyalty, filial obedience and the rest were invented by the sages and have been maintained on their authority ever since." Surely among all heresies from ancient days until now none has been so monstrous as this."

The listeners at this spoke together and laughed, and the Old Man said:—

"You know Sotōba's²⁶ parable about the sun? A man

²⁴ Mencius, Book III: Pt. II., Chapter IX. The quotation is not verbal.

²⁵ So from the beginning, because of the stress laid on rites.

²⁶ Sōtōba 蘇東彼 was one of the most famous of the Chinese literary men. He was of the time of the Sū (Sung) dynasty. He was of the orthodox school, and, was statesman and poet as well as philosopher. Mayers, p. 190.

born blind once asked: "What is the sun like?" and was told: "It is round like this gong," the speaker tapping the gong as he spoke. Oh! It has a voice! the blind man thought. And another said, "It gives light," and put a candle before his eyes. The blind man touched the candle and thought: "The sun is long and slender!"

So is it with most men. Though they read books they are in the dark as to principles, and with open eyes they are blind in heart. And their much thinking is like this blind man's study of the sun. How can they fail to err! It is not necessary to discuss such opinions: it would be like discussing good and evil with men who have no hearts. Those who argue with them are like unto them.

I know the origin of such notions. These men are mere students of the letter. They like to hunt through a multitude of books but do not establish their hearts upon the classics. They study words and commentaries but do not seek the profound truth. They are ignorant of their own darkness and are given over to learned vanity and the love of empty praise. So has it been since the time of the Min. These men desire high things, revile the former superior men and set themselves above the scholars of the past. But the wise man sees that their learning is "remote" and that they are intoxicated with the poison of Jun and So²⁷ and that their style is a mere culling of the ornaments of Ori.²⁸ With their heretical learning they declare that the "Way" is not from Heaven. Testing it with their own base hearts they say that only the conjugal relation is

²⁷ Jun and So 荀子 莊子 Taoist writers. Jun was distinguished as a scholar and statesman. He committed suicide A.D. 212. So is the famous Chang, author of "The Divine Classic of Nan-Hua" (trans. by F. H. Balfour) Mayers p. 198 and p. 30.

²⁸ Writers notorious for the meretricious ornamentation of their style.

"natural." Their arguments are weak but many believe them and the world seems to fancy their base opinions. We shall grieve indeed that thus they may increasingly injure the minds of men, and the accepted truth. To prevent such evil, empty words were punished in the Book of Rites.²⁹

But in such a world for me, without talent or virtue, to stop the evil is to prop up a great house with a single stick. Who would believe my polemic or my exposition? And how should I escape the reproach of not knowing the limits of my powers? The Tei-Shu philosophy is like the ceremonial robes of former kings; but this is like selling the garments of civilized men to savages. Though his philosophy is the celebrated music of the world yet now is it like Eikaku's Song of Spring³⁰ among a people of barbarous speech. As the Book of Poetry says: "Who knows me says: He has sorrow in his heart; Who knows me not says: Something he seeks; Blue, distant Sky! What man is this?"³¹ So sang the officer of Shu in his sorrow over the downfall of the house of Shu, and such is my grief over the decay of the "Way."

THE FOOL'S MOUNTAIN.

But I do not seek collaborators in this present age. Evil customs and false opinions from of old have flourished like rootless things, and bloom, with noisy reputation, for an

²⁹ 用禮 This reference to the punishment of "vain words" was not an empty threat. The Tokugawa government forbade all deviation from the Tei-Shu system in its schools, and the great provincial school went still further.

³⁰ The Historical Records. 史記

³¹ The Shih King, Lessons from the States, Book VI. Ode 1 "On seeing the desolation of the old capital of Kau." Sacred Books of the East, Vol. III, p. 439.

hour. As the ages pass there is a sure return to the "Way" though to look for it in haste shows inexperience.

You know the works of Resshi.²² He tells of a Mr. Fool who with his children laboured every day with pick and basket removing a mountain that stood inconveniently near his house. Mr. Wiseman jeered at the folly: "How can a few men remove a mountain?" But Mr. Fool replied: "I begin the task, my children continue it, their children after them and grandchildren's children labour on and finally it will be done." Thereat Mr. Wiseman laughed the more.

Such conduct men call silly and such men fools, and the critics are called "wise." But with such a "fool's" heart anything in heaven or earth can be done. And the men of wisdom with "Mr. Wiseman's" heart laugh at the Fool's mountain and accomplish nothing. For the world's folly is wisdom and its wisdom folly.

After my death comes a day that will settle this debate of an hundred years. Meanwhile men laugh at my round-about ways, but I am old and stubborn, determined to go on in this purpose to the end. You may class me with Mr. Fool and his hill.

THE OLD PRIEST'S TREE-GRAFTING.

But I have another thought. Beyond Shinobu-ga-oka is a village called Yanaka with a temple of the Shin-gon sect; and there I often played when a boy. Once I heard a priest tell this story:—

In the period Kan-ei (A.D. 1624-1643) the Shōgun came to Yanaka on a hawking expedition, and as he followed the birds, chanced upon the temple with only an attendant or two.

²² Res-shi 列子 A Chinese metaphysician of the age preceeding Confucius. Mayers p. 126. His writings were edited in the fourth century A.D. and take high rank among Taoist writings.

An old priest eighty years of age was grafting trees, and, with no notion of the Shōgun's rank, continued at his work. The Shōgun said: "What are you doing, Priest?" The priest thought the question foolish and replied shortly: "Grafting trees." The Shōgun laughed: "Such an old priest will not live to see them grow. What is the profit in your hard work?" The priest returned: "Who are you that says such a heartless thing? Consider! The trees will be big enough to darken the temple in the time of future priests. I work for the temple, not for myself alone." The Shōgun was filled with admiration. Meanwhile attendants kept coming up bearing the Shōgun's crest, and the priest recognizing his visitor fled in dismay. But the Shōgun called him back and rewarded him.

I am like this old priest. To the end of life I study the established principles, teach and write books that there may be the beginning of true learning in a future age. If I can help the "Way" one ten-thousandth, though I die still shall I live.²⁸ As one of old said: "Though dead the bones do not decay." So think I. I do not labour for myself at all. Believe me! Such is the Old Man's heart.

SEKKŌ'S DRAGON.

But deep would be my shame were I to be like Sekkō. From youth have I cherished the Sages and superior men, reading their books, but I know them only from books and

²⁸ Said Laotz: "He who dies but perishes not enjoys longevity." "Tau Teh King" p. 26. Chalmers' translation. "This is identical with the Comtist version of immortality; the man lives on in the posthumous results of his former works." Balfour. "Chuang Tsze" xix, note.

"O may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence:"

understand only the beginning of their true character. Were I to meet a living Sage who should prove different from those I have been cherishing, might I not hate him? I have such fears. And if I at all hate the Sages then all I say is false, a shame not comparable to the shame of hills and valleys. And how then should I wait for the coming age?

In the olden time Sekkō fancied dragons, painted them and spent days and nights in loving them. A real dragon heard of it and thought, if he is so devoted to painted dragons if I visit him how he will love me! So straightway he put his head through the window, but Sekkō fled panic-struck!

Among the scholars of the east and the west are some true men but most of them are proud and vain, desirous only of reputation and applause while professing to love the Sages. Should they meet a living sage they could not look him in the face. Their daily admiration is like Sekkō's devotion to dragons. Learning without the practice of virtue is like swimming in a field. In illustration of my meaning I will tell you a story of thirty years ago.

In Kaga I had a friend, a samurai of low rank named Sugimoto. While absent in Adzuma with his lord his son Kujurō, who was fifteen years old, quarrelled with a neighbor's son of the same age over a game of *go*, lost his self control and before he could be seized drew his sword and cut the boy down. While the wounded boy was under the surgeon's care Kujurō was in custody, but he showed no fear and his words and acts were calm beyond his years. After some days the boy died and Kujurō was condemned to hara-kiri. The officer in charge gave him a farewell feast the night before he died. He calmly wrote to his mother, took ceremonious farewell of his keeper and all in the house, and then said to the guests: I regret to leave you all and should like to stay and talk till day-break; but I must not be sleepy when I commit hara-kiri to-morrow so I'll go to-

bed at once. Do you stay at your ease and drink the wine. So he went to his room and fell asleep, all being filled with admiration as they heard him snore. On the morrow he arose early, bathed, dressed himself with care, made all his preparations with perfect calmness and then, quiet and composed, killed himself. No old, trained, self-possessed samurai could have excelled him. No one who saw it could speak of it for years without tears.

At the beginning of the affair I wrote to his father : "Though Kujurō commit hara-kiri he is so calm and collected there need be no regret. Be at peace." But as Sugimoto read the letter he remarked : "A child often will be brave enough as others encourage it before the moxa is applied, and yet burst into tears when it feels the heat. My child is so young that I cannot be at peace until I hear that he has done the deed with bravery." As the proverb says, "Only such fathers have such sons." I have told you this that Kujurō may be remembered. It would be shameful were it to be forgotten that so young a boy performed such a deed.

But there is another reason also. Were I and all who study the words and mimic the actions of the ancient Sages to meet a living one different from our notions we should be like the child who cries as he feels the moxa applied. Surely it were shameful to study for years, attain the name of philosopher, and yet be less brave than this child Kujurō.

Therefore examine yourselves with this thought.

HENJAKU CASTS AWAY HIS MEDICINE-SPOON.

At a later meeting the Old Man said: I have not finished what I was saying the other day about learning true and false. To day I'll make an end.

Three classes of scholars attack Shushi :

1st, the school of Ōyōmei. Ōyōmei was a strong man, and although his arguments will not stand examination still

he was not wholly without reason. For in his day most scholars were busy with words and phrases and neglected self-examination. So he supposed that the "science" of Shushi was apart from righteousness and with his "intuitions" sought to examine himself. We approve his purpose. But Shushi's "science" does not neglect our intuitions but shows that they arise from "things." Apart from "things" can we seek our intuitions, after the fashion of Ōyōmei? But are not the classics, the ceremonies and music the teaching of former kings? What are these if not "things"? There are the six classics and the hundred deeds. Loyalty and disloyalty, truth and falsehood, we know their principles by "things." If intuitively we know all about reverence what need for the study of the ceremonies? And if by nature we are peaceful what need for music? Again, if intuitively we can govern our actions, making progress in loyalty and truth, if there is so short and easy a path why did not the sages teach it instead of their long and difficult "Way"? Then further, with what shall we employ these "intuitions" if not with "things"? "Surely" they will say, "in self examination and and casting away lust we will employ our intuitions." Let me illustrate: The knowledge of the five sounds is by the ears, so let us mind our ears and know the five sounds without hearing them! And the knowledge of the five colours is by the eyes; let us attend to them and know the five colours without seeing them! And the knowledge of the five tastes is by the mouth, so if we have a care for it we shall know them without eating! Is it not plain that though the knowledge of the five sounds and of the rest is in ourselves, yet the colours, sounds and tastes are in "things" and that we know them only as we listen, look and eat? Still less can we know the finer distinctions of light and deep in colour, of pure and impure in in sounds, and of delicate and harsh in tastes apart from things, for these differences are in the things.³⁴

³⁴ Koku-butsu-gaku I translate "science." It is thus explained :

Without study we know that we must love our parents and reverence our elder brother, yet by our performance of these duties do we investigate the principles. So is it with all the hundred virtues of the Superior Man. If we are not thus "scientific" but use our intuitions merely, we shall not distinguish good and evil. Since filial piety is the beginning of the hundred virtues. I'll speak of that a while.

All filial sons know such precepts as "In the morning reflect and in the evening consider."⁸⁵ Yet even that is not known to the rustics who do not lack loving hearts. Still more as to "nourishing" our parents, all nourish them, yet is there the difference between merely caring for the body and nourishing also the heart. And though all reverence parents, yet many do not follow the severe, strict way with such precepts as,—“Do not speak of old age before them,”⁸⁶ and “Do not speak angrily before them, not even to a dog or horse.”⁸⁵ All this is included in filial piety, and though a Sage might fulfil this law without learning the particulars one by one, surely not so an ordinary scholar.

格物 "Distinction of things is simply the same as study because all study is a discriminating contemplation of things whether real or abstract. Certainly one must contemplate them until from them a principle 理 has been drawn....It may therefore be said, 格物 is a sifting of materials. But it is not natural science...it refers to men." "A Systematical Digest of the Doctrines of Confucius," p. 55. See the Great Learning, 4-5, "Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things" The Chinese Classics, Vol. I: p. 222, Legge's translation.

⁸⁵ These quotations are from the "Book of Rites."

⁸⁶ Book VII., Part I., Chap. XV., 1. The ability possessed by men without being acquired by learning is intuitive learning, and the knowledge possessed by them without the exercise of thought is their intuitive knowledge." Legge's translation. The Chinese Classics, vol. II., p. 332.

Such an one would not simply fail to fulfil the whole law, he would fall into actual transgressions.

We are not to cease obeying for the sake of study, nor must we establish all the laws before we begin to obey. In our obedience we are to establish its rightness or wrongness, examining ourselves as we read what the Sages say, tasting them carefully and reading them throughout. All the virtues are illustrated by what I have said. This is the scientific philosophy. Follow this course constantly and learn thoroughly these laws and at last you will not err, though you simply follow the dictates of your filial love. This is Tei-Shu's mystery, but only those who strive earnestly can know its flavour.

The expression of Mencius, "To know without learning is intuitive knowledge"⁹⁷ means that there is in man, before he studies, a heart which loves parent and reverences elder brother. Make that heart the foundation, study and we shall strengthen that power. Mencius did not teach that we can be perfect without study! This attempt to correct Shushi by casting aside the natural philosophy is not merely to misunderstand him. It is so to straighten the crooked that it bends backward.

2nd.—The scholars who reject the "ri-ki-tai-yo"⁹⁸ doctrine of Shushi and declare that it is not taught by Confucius and Mencius. But in reply we remember that Confucius said "The nature is alike;"⁹⁹ and Mencius said, "The nature is good"¹⁰⁰ and he further set forth the "yo-ki-ya-ki" doctrine which is not in the more ancient books. Confucius did not use these words of Shushi, but the scholars of the Sō did not offend against his principles. They knew none of these doubts and especially praised the

⁹⁷ 理氣體用 (law, spirit, body, activity).

⁹⁸ Analects, Book XVII; Chap. II.

⁹⁹ Book VI, Part I Chap. VI.

discovery of what the Sages had not taught. The age of the Sô was long after Confucius and Mencius, and the scholars were busy with arguments and in the explanation of the "Way," and were not so careful to repeat the words of the Sages so long as their principles were not violated. When Shushi teaches that which is not in Confucius and Mencius, let us learn his meaning by careful thought and study. If there seem to be disagreement let us restrain our doubts, for if we declare that his doctrine does not please us and that it is opposed to the Sages the superficiality of our scholarship will be manifest. Such notions show shallow carelessness. I cannot argue all of these points but will speak in brief of *ki* and *ri* (spirit and law.)⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Book II, Part I Chap. II, 9-16. Dr. Legge translates "*ki*" 氣 "passion nature" and remarks.—"On 浩然之氣 there is much vain babbling in the Comm. to show how the 氣 of heaven and earth is the 氣 also of man." And he translates 13 thus, "This is the passion nature: it is exceedingly great and exceedingly strong. Being nourished by rectitude, and sustaining no injury, it fills up all between heaven and earth." The Tei-Shu school would perhaps question who is here guilty of vain babbling. If men like our author and his master Shushi understood the classics, the 氣 of heaven and earth may well be identified with the 氣 in man. Indeed I do not see how their philosophy can be otherwise explained. Dr. Legge elsewhere writes; "Khi (*ki*), or 'spirit,' is the breath, still material but purer than the Zing (essence) and belongs to the finer, and more active part of the ether." "The Yi King" p. 355 note, Vol. XVI "Sacred Books of the East." And again he writes,—"The name of the intelligent spirit is literally 'the knowing breath' 'the breath' being used like the Hebrew *ruach* and the Latin *spiritus*." "I have adduced it to show how he (Confucius) held that, while man's body crumbles and returns to the dust at death, the liberated spirit, 'the breath' as he phrases it, ascends to a brighter state." "The Religions of China" pp. 119-121. In fact the Stoic '*pneuma*' is the "*ki*" of the school of Tei-Shu, and so of the dominant system of Chinese thought to our day:—"The human soul, as

These scholars say: "In Heaven and Earth there is only spirit (ki), flowing through the four seasons; it produces all things and naturally ceases not. This is the Way of Heaven. Clearly is it as we see it. It is nonsense for Shushi to put above this spirit another formless thing called law."⁴¹ Even in China there were formerly many scholars who could not rid themselves of these doubts though they professed to have studied carefully Shushi. They at least did not settle the matter at a glance like our Japanese scholars. Of course I cannot pretend to settle the mysterious question of the priority of ki or ri at a sitting, but I will talk a while, taking an illustration from Laotze.⁴²

"Reckoning up the wheel there is no wheel; reckoning up the year, there is no year." Let us see, this is the rim, this the hub, this the axle, this the spoke; but the rim is not the wheel, nor the hub, nor the axle, nor the spokes. Yet if we cast these away the wheel goes too. But the law of the wheel preceded it and before the wheel was made the

defined by the Stoics, is an inborn breath. . . . It is a part severed from the Deity." "The latter pervades the world as an all pervading breath. . . . The human soul is a part of the Deity, or an emanation from the same; the soul and its source act and react upon each other. The soul is the warm breath in us'. Opinions differed as to its life after the death of the body. Ueberweg's History of Philosophy, Vol. I, pp. 194-196, Eng. trans. See "Ki Ri and Ten" below.

⁴¹ See the Chinese Repository, Vol. XIII, pp. 552,603 et seq. for a translation of Shushi's exposition of these words. Medhurst there translates "ri" immaterial principle and "ki" primary matter. McClatchie translates "ri" by "fate" and "ki" by "air" "Confucian Cosmogony." Eitel, above p., translates by "law" and "vital energy." I by "spirit," and "law," the former in the Stoic sense of *pneuma*. Griffith John translates "ri" "immaterial principle" and "ki" material principle. See my "Comment" below for a summary of Shushi's teaching.

⁴² This quotation is not found in the Tao Teh King.

principle was determined. And because the law is imperishable the carpenter follows it and makes the wheel. See then! Does the wheel come from the spokes and rim or do these come from the wheel? If we say the wheel comes from the parts we know its form but not its law.

So with the year. Twelve hours make one day, thirty days make a month, twelve months make a year. This then we say, is an hour, a day, a month or a year, and if we cast them aside, without them there is no year. But on the three hundred and sixty-sixth day sun and earth return and meeting make the year. For the year is not in day or month, but its "law" was determined first and sun and moon revolve according to this plan. So for ages calendars have been made, and for years and days that are not yet, for an hundred years to come as for the hundred years past. For the "law" is not in day or month but is forever. So is it that "Heaven speaks not, yet the four seasons labour and all things are produced."⁴⁸ For this is the centre, the main pillar of Heaven and Earth, the four seasons work by it and all things are begotten. This is the meaning of the expression: Reckoning up the wheel there is no wheel, and reckoning up the year there is no year."

Separated from "spirit" is no "law" for thus without form or place we should say simply "reason" (*dori*). Confucius by the shape separated the upper and the lower and over against the utensil placed the "Way"; and so Shushi by the form separated the before and after and over against the "spirit" placed the "law." The reasoning is the same. To neglect the fundamental reason and argue from the leaves and branches is to cause only confusion: no conclusion can be reached.

In like manner we reason of "body" and "activity." Where is activity there is always body. Body is quiet,

⁴⁸ Analects, Book XVII, Chap., XIX, 3.

motionless, activity moves and acts. Quietly nourished activity dwells with body, reflecting and moving body works with activity. This is what the expression, body and activity are one in origin without the least separation, means. Confucius said: "The Superior Man reforms that which is within with reverence, and establishes that which is without with righteousness."⁴⁴ Shishi said: "With moderation and harmony establish the universal way."⁴⁵ And Mencius: "Benevolence and righteousness are the great and holy way."⁴⁶ Without the words "body" and "activity" yet is the reason the same in all, and "body" and "activity" are in them all. But that crooked school of scholars rests content with the trifles it knows, and of course does not understand that perfect body and great activity are included in the "Way." There is no necessity for a thorough argument with them.

3rd.—These scholars are dissolute and weary of the illustrious virtue. They study only books and words. When once they hear the saying of Shushi: "With care and reverence establish the truth," they think it the common place of an antiquated scholar. They do not know that philosophers study by self-examination. As they noisily assail the ears of men with their babble, no reply is to be made to them. We can only draw a deep sigh.

Henjaku twice prescribed for the Duke of Sei, but the third time as he could do nothing more he cast away his medicine spoon and fled in dismay. Daily the disease of

⁴⁴ Book of Changes, Appendix IV, Section II, 6

⁴⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, Chap. I. 4-5. Shishi was Grandson of Confucius.

⁴⁶ Book I, Part I, Chapter I, 3 amplified by the author.

philosophy increases. Even Henjaku could not cure it. Still less can I, aged and talentless. I can only cover my mouth and flee in dismay.⁴⁷

THE VIRTUE OF THE GODS.

When, one day, five or six students remained after the lecture to ask questions, one said:—I have a question. Many scholars explain 'Shin-tō' by saying that 'Japan is the Land of the Gods.' But their teaching is fantastic and opposed to reason. Since even the Sage did not speak lightly of the Gods⁴⁸ such men as we cannot understand it. We wish your help. We shall gain food for future thought. And as all were of one mind Okina replied:—

In the Book of Changes it is said, "The Sages formed their teaching by the Way of the Gods."⁴⁹ That is, their teaching is called 'The Way of the Gods' to manifest its Divine mystery, as we speak of the Way of Benevolence. But the 'Way of the Gods' is not a religion by itself. So I cannot accept that which is popularly called Shin-tō and that is exalted above the teaching of the Sages as our native religion. I do not profess to understand the profound reason of the Divinities but in outline this is my idea:—

The Doctrine of the Mean speaks of the "virtue of the Gods"⁵⁰ and Shushi explains this word "virtue" to mean "the heart and its revelation." Its meaning is thus stated

⁴⁷ Henjaku (Pien Ts'iao) was the title given to a physician who lived in the State of Chao about the sixth century B.C. He was instructed in the mystic art of healing by a Sage possessed of magic powers. Henjaku dissected the human body. The Chinese theory of the pulses is derived from his discoveries. Mayers's "Manual" p. 172.

⁴⁸ Analects VII; 20.

⁴⁹ Appendix I: Sec. I: Hex. XX: 3.

⁵⁰ XVI: 1

in the Saden, "God is pure intelligence, and justice."⁵¹ Now all know that God is just but do not know that he is intelligent. But there is no such intelligence elsewhere as God's. Man hears by the ear and where the ear is not he hears not though as quick of hearing as Shikō; and man sees with his eyes and where they are not he sees not, though as quick of sight as Rirō;⁵² and with his heart man thinks and the swiftest thought takes time. But God uses neither ear nor eye, nor does he pass over in thought. Directly he feels, and directly does he respond. This then we should know is not two or three but just the virtue received from the one truth. Thus, in Heaven and Earth is a being of quickest eye and ear, separated from no time or place, now in this manner, communicating instantaneously, embodied in all things, filling the universe. Having of course neither form nor voice it is not seen nor heard by men. When there is truth it feels and when it feels it responds. When there is no truth it feels not and when it feels not there is no response. Responding at once it is, not responding it naturally is not. Is not this the Divinity of Heaven and Earth? So the Doctrine of the Mean says: "Looked for it cannot be seen, listened to it cannot be heard. It enters into all things! There is nothing without it."⁵³

⁵¹ The oldest commentary on The Spring and Autumn. Book. III., Year XXIII, Part II., Dr. Legge translates, (Chinese Classics, Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 120) "The spirits are intelligent, correct, impartial." The word "spirits" is "shin" (kami) and in our passage can be rendered only by God or Gods.

⁵² Rirō could distinguish a single hair at the distance of an hundred paces. Mayers, p. 119. Shikō had magical powers of hearing.

⁵³ XVI; 1. 3 Legge translates in the plural: "We look for them" the text of course having no distinction of number.

It is like Priest Saigyō's verse at the Shrines in Ise,⁵⁴
"Though not knowing what it is, Grateful tears he weeps."

Are not his tears from his perception of truth? Before the shrine he stands, single hearted, direct, with truth; and to his truth God also comes and they commune, and so it is he weeps.

As the reflection in the clear water answers to the moon, and together moon and pool increase the light, so if continually in the one truth they are dissolved we cannot distinguish God and man, even as sky and water, water and sky unite in one. "Everywhere, everywhere, on the right He seems and on the left."⁵⁵ This is the revealing of God, the truth not to be concealed. Think not that God is distant but seek Him in the heart, for the heart is the House of God. Where there is no obstacle of lust, of one spirit with the God of Heaven and Earth there is this communion. But except by this communion there is not such a thing. Saigyō did not weep before he went to the shrine and by this we know God came.

And now for the application. Examine yourselves, make the truth of the heart the foundation, increase in learning and at last you will attain. Then you will know the truth of what I speak.

As thus he spoke all were silent, impressed by the great thoughts of the aged philosopher. They too shed grateful tears like the priest before the shrine.

⁵⁴ Saigyō was a celebrated retainer of Yoritomo who became a priest. He died A.D. 1198.

⁵⁵ The Doctrine of the Mean, XVI:8; Legge translates, "Like overflowing water they seem to be over the heads, and on the right and left of the worshippers."

THE TRUTH OF THE SAGE.

The Old Man continued: Consider the saying, "Shun by doing nothing rules."⁵⁶ The truth of the Sage is Divine. When anything there is we cannot use this phrase "doing nothing." Not knowing what it is or why but only that it is most holy and Divine "grateful tears he weeps." When the Sage enrobed with folded arms is in the place of power⁵⁷ the empire honours him as the sun and moon, imitates him as one imitates his parents and communes with him more than with the formless God of Heaven and Earth. Wherever he goes there is reformation as the fluid shapes itself to the vessel. When Shun was a farmer all naturally sought the enlargement of their neighbor's fields, and when he was a potter all turned out pieces without flaws. His thought is Divine and accomplishes that on which his heart rests as readily as one turns his hand. When Confucius would work reformation he merely rested in the place and the result was attained, and when he willed to move men, all followed in peace. How far is this from the thoughts of ordinary men!⁵⁸

The Sages did not "do" wonders, but their truth cannot be hidden. When the Superior Man utters a word within his room the response comes from a thousand miles and still more is his neighborhood reformed. And if an evil word is spoken a thousand miles are changed, and still more

⁵⁶ Analects XV; 4.

⁵⁷ Book of Changes, Appendix 1 Sec., I, I, 5. Doctrine of the Mean, Chap. XXXI.

⁵⁸ Mencius, Book VII., Pt. I Chap. XIII, 3. "Wherever the superior man passes through transformation follows; wherever he abides his influence is of a spiritual nature. It flows abroad above and beneath like that of Heaven and Earth." Legge's translation. This application of the influence of the ideal sage to the historical Confucius is remarkably at variance with the facts of his ill success as a statesman when alive.

is the immediate neighborhood corrupted.⁵⁹ Not instantly does it go a thousand miles, but as the wind moves from blade of grass to blade so does that done in private go from house to province and on, increasing, to the empire. This is the nature of things, the truth that cannot be hidden. So the superior man is busy with self-reformation and cares nothing for outward effect and ornament, yet are his hidden riches revealed like a silken robe worn beneath a worthless wrap. But the vulgar man cares nothing for self-culture and only for display, like him who vainly seeks to cover up decay which yet increasingly manifests itself.

Maijō reproved the king of Go: "If you would not that men should know, do not act; and if you would not have them hear, do not speak."⁶⁰ This is a celebrated saying, simple in expression but profound in meaning. To speak evil or to do it, thinking it will not be known, is to add interest to the principal and to bind a burden on the back which grows heavy day by day. At last its weight is great, how shall it be concealed? All sin, except the Sage, even the superior man. But the superior man does not attempt to conceal his faults, but reforms them in the sight of men. Error and repentance are without attempt at concealment and thus virtue is increased. The error of the superior man is like the eclipse of the sun or moon, all see the error and all are impressed by his repentance.⁶¹ Though less than the truth of the Sage when men see such a face and hear such words they believe and follow, nor is any exertion necessary. This is the true "communion." It never can be rivalled by the leadership of wisdom, power or gifts. How partial the saying, "Good stays within the gates but evil goes a thousand miles." Both when real go everywhere.

⁵⁹ Book of Changes, Appendix III: Sec. I: Chap. VIII, 42.

⁶⁰ 續文章軌範卷三放膽文十六枚 Zoku-Bun-Sho-Ki-Han-Ken-no-San. Ho-Tan-Bun-16-Mai.

⁶¹ Mencius, Book II, Pt. II, Chap. IX., 4. Analects, Book XIX Chap. XXI.

MONSTERS ARISE FROM MAN.

A listener asked:—Since God is just and quick to perceive there may well be such communion with truth. But tradition from of old speaks of the appearance of evil things. Does reason account for them also? And the Old Man replied:

The Gods are the activity of Heaven and Earth, the good power of the In and Yō⁶² and of course of the true "law." Man's nature is originally good but as it is individualized good and evil appear.⁶³ So too as God descends to man's world there is good and evil. For though the working through the four seasons of the spirit of the five elements of the In and Yō is of the right "law" of Heaven

⁶² The so-called male and female principles of Chinese cosmogony. See Mr. Haga's "Note."

⁶³ There is an ideal nature which is good. It is the same with the "ri," the "law," but when it is individualized, when it unites with the "ki-nature," both good and evil appear. This "ki-nature" varies, is thin or dense, is the air, the breath, the essence of the five elements, forms matter. It is in man as his "spirit" which may therefore be thought of as material, but matter might also be thought of as etherial. The spirit within us "feels" the spirit without and the latter "responds." So there is a revelation of the invisible, a theophany, but it is of the will of man and not of the will of God, p. 51 above. Evil seems to be confusion, the good powers appearing at the wrong times. The five elements are wood, fire, earth, metal, water. Perhaps the five elements would be better translated, "the five activities" manifested in the five elements. I am indebted for this suggestion, as for many others, to the Rev. H. Waddell, A. B.

The word spirit throughout this piece represents the character "ki" 氣. See the Journal of the N. China Asiatic Soc. Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 37-44.

and Earth and not of evil at all, yet as that "spirit" is scattered throughout the universe and confused there arise unexpectedly winds, heat, cold and storms. Thus naturally there are evil spirits which are known as they are felt by men. When with a righteous "spirit" we feel, the righteous "spirits" respond; and when with an evil "spirit" we feel, the evil "spirits" respond. And as both good and bad come from this "feeling and response" with the In and Yō we cannot refuse to call the bad also, gods. In Heaven and Earth is no place where these "spirits" are not. The "feeling" of the good "spirits" whether great or small is all of the pure heart. So in the empire have the good qualities of humble men been perceived miraculously; and, in a private station frost has been perceived in summer and Kantaishi "felt" the alligator in the evil valley.⁶⁴ Such events are extraordinary, but they are not to be doubted and are all caused by the pure "feeling."

I read a while ago, in the writings of Shinseisan, of the daughter of a farmer. Her father was ill and she prayed that she might suffer in his stead. Because of this "feeling and response" for one night many birds sang round the house, three great stars shone in the sky, lighting up the caves like the moon; and in the morning the farmer was well. Seisan was the head of the village and knew the facts. He named the place,—*"The village of great filial piety,"* and set up a memorial. This is a certain fact and an illustration of the feeling of which I speak.

But in a degenerate age man's heart is evil; for the most part he "feels" the evil spirits and monsters appear. The Sage did not speak of wonders,⁶⁵ of feats of strength, confusions or divinities, yet as their "law" is included in "the distinction of things," they must be mentioned.

⁶⁴ Above note 14.

⁶⁵ *Analects* VII; 20.

In the *Saden*, Shinju of Rō thus writes of monsters:—
 “When men fear then monsters arise by the flickering flames of the spirit. Monsters arise from men.”⁶⁶ This accords well with our science. When the fire is undetermined the flame flickers, dying down and flashing up, and there is a state of man’s spirit which is like this. As the proverb says,—“Men wish to see the thing they fear.” They cannot forget it and led by their fancies, as the flame flashes up and dies down, now they see it and then they see it not. At last so giddy is their spirit that they question their own identity and then, into that opening the spirits thrust themselves and show their forms in visions and monsters and things of evil. These come by the flames of the spirit, and cease by the “feeling” of the good spirits.

In the tales of Tō-Sō⁶⁷ it is said that at Lake Do-tei is a temple to the water god, where travellers pray before they embark. A merchant of firm faith, and mindful of his prayers as he crossed year by year, was drowned at last in a storm. Thereupon his son in grief and anger came determined to burn, on the morrow, the temple which had failed to aid in spite of prayers and gifts. But in his dreams the god appeared in fright and said:—“Forgive me and to-morrow you shall hear Divine music on the lake. I fear neither the

⁶⁶ Dr. Legge translates,—“When men are full of fear their breath as it were blazes up and brings such things. . . . If men give not cause for them they do not arise of themselves.” *Chinese Classics* Vol. V, Pt. I, p. 92. I do not understand “ki” here to mean “the breath” but the “spirit.” The spirits (ki) around us are confused and undertermined and powerless against a determined mind but when man’s spirit (ki) is undetermined and flickers like a flame then he is deceived by the evil “ki” and monsters appear.

⁶⁷ A collection of common stories of the dynasties Tō and Sō.

burning of the temple nor your wrath, but seek forgiveness since I cannot ward off the fixed determination of your mind."

This trifling story teaches that the gods fear a determined mind. Had the man been undertermined whether he should burn or not, now resolute and now irresolute, he had been cursed.

In the castle of Sumpu⁶⁸ was a fox called Uba. It would put a towel on its head and dance, no form being seen, only the towel waving in the air. As the towel was taken from the hand by the fox a rubbing was felt across the palm. And the young men would seek to hold the towel fast but could not. Ōkubo Hikozaemon,⁶⁹ however, held out the towel and the fox could not take it; for he had resolved when he felt the touch to cut with his sword both fox and hand. The fox knew his purpose and was powerless. When the heart of the samurai is determined there is no entrance and the fox can work no ill. Still more is this the case with Sages and superior men. For evil melts before the righteous spirits like ice before the sun. Those who practice evil arts against such men find their curses returned upon themselves. But good men are few and evil spirits abound.

And, further, men worship at profane temples and believe in Buddhism. As a shadow goes with a body so if there is strong belief even where there is naught we shall construct a being. Wonders are seen and folks are more and more deceived and the truth is lost. Trifles are thought to be of the gods and the Buddhas and are foolishly called their answers. The priests invent lies, deceive the people, assembling them together until the offerings of pennies are like mountains. These cheats are the thieves of the nation, a great evil to the empire.

⁶⁸ The Tokugawa castle at Suruga.

⁶⁹ A famous retainer of Ieyasu, Hidetada and Iemitsu.

THE GOBLIN OF HIDAYAMA.

After a pause the Old Man continued:—This “feeling and response” of the gods is the thoroughfare of the spirit. If there is the least “touch” of the spirit, though it show not in voice or face the gods know it at once. But when in perfect quiet there is no mixture of the spirit the gods can find no place to enter in. This is the true nature (*honbun*), what I call the “self.” The verse of *Sha-rei-un*⁷⁰ happens to set off my thought although he did not know the profound meaning of the “self:”—

“The perfect man exalts himself.”

The Book of Changes says: “Heaven opposes not, still less does man or god.”⁷¹ This of course is true of man, and also of Heaven and the gods. So the Sage kings with this “self” were above the empire,—“The empire is only I, who can break my resolution?” The later philosophers put “self” apart from ten thousand, and in the midst of the multitude knew only “self.”

Where then is this “self”? It is before all thought, the reality of the unmoved. Superior men cherish it, Heaven and Earth are given rank by it and by it all things are reared. From it “feeling” goes to God and there is nothing apart from it. As *Shokosetsu* says, “If there is not a thought even the gods cannot know; if not by self then not by anyone.”⁷² Here is a vulgar illustration which I heard in Kaga.

A sawyer was making boards in the woods of Hidayama when he saw a hermit with a long nose, and took him for a goblin. Thereon the hermit said: “Why do you take me for a goblin and hate me and wish me away?” The sawyer in extremity picked up his things to depart

⁷⁰ 謝靈運 A scholar of the Min dynasty.

⁷¹ The Book of Changes, Appendix, IV. Sec. I. Chap. VI: 34.

⁷² 昭康節 A famous poet and philosopher of the Sō dynasty.

when a board slipped by chance and hit the goblin on the nose. "You dreadful man," it cried, "I cannot understand your thoughts," and ran away. It could not endure the unpurposed hit. So it is that, "if there is no thought even the gods cannot know."

But ordinary minds are ever moved by the undetermined thoughts and fancies with which they are filled. So they are led by spirits, enchained by things and the "self" cannot assert itself. We must nourish the source of "self" if we would not lose it and first of all by getting rid of lust. Without lust, in repose, and without plans or thought, from this empty quietness alone, in accord with right reason does movement come, determined before all and thus after all is no fall. This it is to command the gods and not be commanded by them. Without voice or odour it is the foundation of the empire, a formless body. Without thought or act it is the source of all.⁷³

* * * * *

Unknown of men the origin of a thought in darkness and solitude is like the coming of spring while winter still is here. Just as the thought begins to come there is the distinction of right and wrong, as this year and next divides while winter remains. A thousand miles of error come from an inch. In the trifle is the separation of right and wrong, their division and their boundary gate. "Ceaselessly we must guard this gate" asking our hearts whether right or wrong is in our choice. Thus to forsake all evil and follow good is the beginning of the practice of our philosophy. Careless here, knowing good and evil only as shown in face and act, is to be too late. Struggle as we may we shall not attain.

⁷³ Thought and act are of the ki, the true self is of the ri, see "Ki, Ri and Ten" below.

ALL "WAYS" ENTER BY DEEDS.

Many who had been absent for a time came again and excused themselves saying: We have been busy and so have been negligent. But the Old Man replied:

It is the fashion for scholars to say that occupation with the affairs of the world has made them negligent. I too have made that mistake. But the true difficulty is a want of resolution while we, unmindful of that, lay the blame on our occupation. This doubtless may interfere with our study of the books but "learning" is the practice of the "Way" of the Sages. True, we must know the "laws" if we are to act aright and these are learned not merely from books, though the study of the classics is to be put first. Read, learn the "laws" and then search them out in conduct and affairs; this is true knowledge, the knowledge that is the beginning of right conduct. The "Way" of the Sages is not apart from the things of every day. Loyalty, obedience, friendship, all the relations are in this "learning," and not a movement, not even our resting, is without its duty.

Öyōmei's followers reproach the "science" of Shushi and say: Doubtless it is admirable, but how shall busy men find time to learn its universal laws? Thus they misunderstand Shushi to teach that first at our leisure we determine "laws" and only afterwards begin to practise them. Not so! We learn loyalty and obedience as we are loyal and obedient. To-day I know yesterday's shortcomings and to-morrow shall I know to-day's. This is the knowledge of the scientific philosophy. In our occupations we learn whether conduct conforms to right, and so advance in the truth by practice.

Big and little describe things and not principles, so everywhere and always may we learn philosophy, nor should we despise anything. For principles are decided by the

things of Heaven and Earth. But all in proper order, not neglecting the important things of every day that the laws of trees or blades of grass may be determined. In the "Way" of Heaven and Earth there is nothing which comes not from deeds. And where there is anything there is the rule. Just as with the six accomplishments we learn by practice and yet not without rules, so is it with the "Way." Though I have an intuition, if I know not the rule of its application I am like an unpolished jewel or unsmelted ore.

An old samurai thus taught his pupils. Be not samurai through the wearing of two swords, but day and night have a care to bring no reproach on the name. When you cross your threshold and pass out through the gate go as men who shall never return again. Thus shall you be ready for every adventure you may meet. All men of deep earnestness think thus. The Buddhist is forever to remember the five commandments and the samurai the laws of chivalry. But these are easy, being of limited application. But philosophy is of all things, and in all the scholar finds his duty. And especially three things must never be forgotten, the blessings of parent, lord and Sage. Parents bestow and cherish the body, not a hair even is apart from them and their love. The daimyō gives us all we have, and maintains us, not a chopstick save from him. And the Sage instructs us and saves us from the state of the brutes. Remembering these blessings the original nature is not lost, Heaven's reason is not destroyed and all the virtues are brought together. This is the mystery of our philosophy. Impress it even on your bodies.

But now-a-days young men seek only pleasure. Careless of their duty to parent and lord they fall into selfishness. And their elders and scholars know not the blessing of the Sages but are proud and desirous of fame, without a drop of truth. Did they know this mystery they would curb their proud spirits and become helpers in the "way" of virtue. But now, teachers and pupils laugh at the

truth of Shushi till head and stomach ache. Were they to hear my threefold mystery their stomachs would pain them to the point of throwing up. But all who truly know understand that it is not an empty and senile word.

BOOK II.—RIGHTEOUSNESS.

THE STUDY OF MARTIAL FORTUNE.

Returning from exercise some young men stopped one day, and the Old Man said to them: As your profession is that of arms constant drill is necessary; but good fortune is more important than skill since without it skill avails not. Mori Musashi no Kami was called the Demon of Musashi, so skillful and strong was he: but at Nagakute¹ he was killed instantly by a bullet, and what benefit was there in his skill and courage? Skill rests on fortune; so study this most earnestly. Your instructors teach you arms but they know not the study of fortune. Such as I can teach you that!

Then one replied: I do not understand this study of martial fortune. Surely it is beyond man's control. Could it be acquired by study all the world would learn! The Old Man shook his head: Yes, there is such study. Tell us of it then, the students said; and the Old Man went on:

Consider, all of you! Whence is fortune? From Heaven! Even the world says, "Fortune is in Heaven." So then there is no resource save prayer to Heaven. Let us then ask: What does Heaven hate and what does Heaven love? It loves benevolence and hates malevolence.

It loves truth and hates untruth. Its heart is this, that it forms all things and unceasingly begets men. Even when in autumn and winter it seems the spirit of death it is not so, but the root, the spirit of birth is gaining strength. So does the Book of Changes declare: "Birth is called change,"² and again: "The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called birth."³ That which in Heaven begets all things in man is called love. So doubt not that Heaven loves benevolence and hates its opposite.

So too with truth. For countless ages sun and moon and stars constantly revolve and we make calendars without mistake. Nothing is more certain! It is the very truth of the universe! When man leaves all else and is humane and true he accords with Heaven, it surely cherishes and embraces him. But with mere temporary virtue⁴ comes no such revelation. We must always obey, being ever benevolent and injuring no one, being ever true and deceiving no one. As the days and months pass such truth appeals to Heaven, and Heaven helps so that even in battle we meet no misfortune nor strike against bullet or spear. This is the study of martial fortune. Do not think it an old man's foolish talk.

How sad is the condition of the world! Men seek only profit and hate their fellows! With their wisdom they make a lying appearance and think it a skilful device for passing through the world. At last they are cast off by Heaven and how can there be any good for them? I have noticed prayers for good luck brought year by year from famous temples and hills decorating the entrances to the

¹ In the war between Hideyoshi and Ieyasu, Rein p. 280.

² The Yi King, Appendix III, Sec. I. Chap. V, 29.

³ The Yi King, Appendix III, Sec. II, Chap. I, 10.

⁴ Mencius, Book II, Pt. I, Chap. II, 15.

abodes of famous samurai. But none the less have they been killed or punished, or their line has been destroyed and house extinguished. Or at the least, to many shame and disgrace have come. They have not learned "fortune" but foolishly depend on prayers and charms. Confucius said: "When punished by Heaven there is no place for prayer."⁵ Women of course follow the temples and trust in charms but not so should men. Alas! Now all are astray, those who should be teachers, the samurai and those higher still! Whose fault is it then that this evil way wins the multitude? Okina weeps as he repeats the verse of Moshi,—“Watching the crow—on whose roof will it alight?”⁶

THE REWARDS OF VIRTUE AND VICE.

After a little some one said: I am much impressed with this new study of martial fortune, nor shall I forget it. But still I have my doubts. Do not men of humanity and truth meet with misfortune, while selfish, false men are happy? Gankai the saint died young and poor; Tōseki⁷ the infamous robber was long-lived and rich. Do explain such facts.

⁵ Analects, III; 13.

⁶ Book of Poetry, Part II, Book IV, Ode VIII; 3 "A lamentation over the miseries of the kingdom." These lines are "illustrative of the uncertainty of the writer's position in the future." Legge.

⁷ Of Gan-kai Confucius said, "Unfortunately his appointed time was short," Analects, (VI: II); and, when he died,—“Heaven is destroying me! Heaven is destroying me!” (XI: VIII) and again,—“If I am not to mourn bitterly for this man for whom should I mourn?” (XI: IX,) Legge's translation. Tōseki had nine thousand followers and was eating a man's liver when visited by Confucius. The latter remonstrated with the robber, but was worsted in the encounter, at least according to "The Divine Classic of Nan-Hua" by Chuang Tse, translated by Balfour, section "Che the Robber."

The Old Man replied :—The good are happy and the wicked miserable. This is the certainly determined and just law. But happiness and misery are not thus fore-ordained. They depend on circumstances. The Sages speak of the true law and not of the undetermined circumstances. If we would live long we abstain from drink and lust that the body may be strong. If in service we seek promotion we are diligent in duty. But some men who are careful of their health die young and some careless men live long. Yet surely, care is not in vain! So too some diligent men through misfortune gain no promotion and negligent men by chance have been advanced. Yet surely, diligence is not in vain! Were we to think care of the body useless we should spend days and nights in drinking and lust until at last we should be diseased and die. And were we to think diligence in vain we so frequently should neglect our duty that punishment and degradation would be ours. Care of the body is the "way" of long life, as is diligence of promotion. These laws are unchangeable. Again consider! When we make plans, do we leave all to chance or determine first the principles of our action? Of course the latter, and then we do not repent even though we are unfortunate. We cannot arrange for chance. But to leave all to chance and fail, that leads to repentance. Sin is the source of pain and righteousness of happiness. This is the settled law. The teaching of the Sages and the conduct of superior men is determined by principles and the result is left to Heaven. Still, we do not obey in the hope of happiness, nor do we forbear to sin from fear. Not with this meaning did Confucius and Mencius teach that happiness is in virtue and pain in sin. But the "Way" is the law of man. It is said: "The 'Way' of Heaven blesses virtue and curses sin." That is intended for the ignorant multitude. Yet it is not like the Buddhist hōben, for it is the determined truth.

THE VICTORY OF HEAVEN AND MAN.

Again he said ;—When men are many they win from Heaven, but when Heaven decrees it wins. It is a famous saying : Heaven always wins, evil cannot contend with right. Men, when many and strong, may succeed for a time, yet only for a time while Heaven is undecided ; afterwards it wins. Heaven is forever and is not to be understood at once, like the promises of men. Short-sighted men consider its ways and decide that there is no reward for vice or virtue. So they doubt when the good are virtuous and fear not when the wicked sin. They do not know that there is no victory against Heaven when it decrees.

Gankai died young. Tōseki lived long, for Heaven's decree was not yet formed. But now as we study the decree : Gankai indeed lived poverty-stricken and in obscurity, but his name lasts thousands of years with the sun and moon. Tōseki had a thousand followers and walked in pride but when he died his name perished before his body was cold ; while his shame lasts an hundred generations, the memorial of many evil deeds. Was then Gankai's reward from Heaven small, and Tōseki's great ?

And seldom is the award so late ; generally it is at once. Sometimes it is delayed awhile and yet is received in person. Nowadays in Japan are many evil officials ; some are punished soon, some after a delay ; some are detected at once, some only by and by and some not until after death. For the collection and disbursement of taxes in town and province goes on unceasingly and a deficit is not perceived. So the wicked man is wise in his own interest and, by many devices, appropriates the property of the government to his own use that he may live in luxury and ease. While still undiscovered he congratulates himself upon his cleverness. And when others are detected he puts it to their want of skill, and grows in pride instead of being warned. But surely his evil wisdom makes some mistake. He overlooks something

which reveals his wickedness, and cleverness and devices avail not when he is examined and every item studied. For a time he was free, but soon or late there is no escape.

Since thus something may be taken from the great stores of the government and the loss be not perceived at once, still more from Heaven whose treasures, lands and seas and men by millions, are very great. Evil and good mingle in vast numbers and awards cannot be made at once. It is not wonderful that bad men tread the dangerous evil way in search of gain. But Heaven too has its time for settling its accounts. Then the most clever accountant cannot rival the exactness of its perception; and its awards, mild and bitter, heavy and light are without the least mistake. In China and Japan many strong men have prided themselves on courage, wisdom and plots, and, Heaven being still undetermined, have thought it could be moved by man's power. For a while as they strive with great and evil powers they seem to gain their ends, but Heaven soon decrees and body and house are lost. Many such instances there are, of old and now. To think that man may win from Heaven is the source of evil. For bad men see temporary gain and rejoice with shallow wisdom. But true men see and greatly fear the evil that is invisible. As the Book of Poetry says,—“Fear the will of Heaven. Obey according to the times.” Truly ever fear and cherish it.

THE FLERTING, DREAM-LIKE WORLD.

One of the students who had been a Buddhist but now studied philosophy with the Old Man, said one day to another student;—The Old Man teaches me the exalted truth of Confucius, but Buddhism too has truth not to be cast aside. Scholars are entangled by the world and deceived by reality and seek fame and gain. So they die without seeing the truth. Buddhism knows the world's a dream, a vision,

and though it is heresy still it leads many to the truth as it teaches the true nature of the Buddha. Good and evil are twisted together like the strands of a rope. Joy and sorrow stand ever at the gate waiting to enter. The fleeting world is like a dream; how shall we find satisfaction in it? To see that it is a dream is to find the beginning of the "Way."

The Old Man replied;—There is reason in what you say, and therefore many famous samurai have forsaken philosophy for Buddhism. They are like the guest who ate too much at a feast and went home in agony, holding his big belly with his hands. He met an empty bellied beggar seeking food and cried out: Oh! If I were only like that man! Then I should not suffer so. Such are the scholars who, surfeited with the world and offended with philosophy, turn to the teaching of the priests. They know not that the land of rest is in our teaching.

From the beginning of Heaven and Earth the "Way" of the three relations and five laws has not changed. It is Heaven's truth. It is not a dream. It is not a "borrowed world." But men want rank and gain. They seek them day and night until death and pursue them west and east. Success and ruin quickly come and quickly go, all alike unexpected. Such unrighteous success Confucius called, "Clouds that form and disappear."⁸ But in the Buddhist doctrine of "three worlds" all seems a dream. There is no distinction of truth and falsehood; and the "Way" of the three relations and five laws is destroyed and thrown away as rubbish. As if we should destroy eye and ear! We see and hear by them and, forsooth, in sight and sound are errors! Shall we then make ourselves deaf and blind and be content, hearing and seeing naught? The heart is from Heaven, is endowed with all reason and responds to all things. Thus is the "empty spirit"⁹ exalted, Now if we

⁸ Analects, Book VII; XV.

⁹ See p. 21 preceding.

deny both reason and things, the three relations and the five laws, and our own heart, what shall be the true heart? These heretics even must make our wonderful consciousness to be the true nature of Buddha.

The heart is like light. Fire is called light because it shines on things. The phosphorescence of sea and hill is like fire: yet lights nothing but dances in solitude, in waste places far from men. Shall we exalt it and call it a light Divine? Buddhism, separated from the "Way" of the five relations and the five virtues, moves men uselessly, without real connection with reason or affairs. Vainly it talks of Divine knowledge. In Japan before the Empress Suikō, and in China before the Emperor Mei¹⁰ were no such men or hearts. It is all useless but for a thousand years here and in China high and low have felt its influence. Lords and retainers, parents and children have been deserted by men who have become priests. And others look on with longing and say,—“They have accepted the true religion.” It is most contemptible, no matter what may be the purpose. Surely it is shameful! And the Old Man was silent for a while.

Reason comes from Heaven, he continued, and is in men. If we know it not in ourselves we know it not at all. This kind knowledge exceeds all former experience as we love our friend an hundredfold as we discover that he is bound to us by the ties of nature, is our lost father or brother. An abstainer knows that sake is sweet, but not as if he tasted it. And the sake drinker knows not the taste of mochi. The true philosopher knows the truth as the drinker knows the taste of sake and the abstainer the taste of sweets. How shall he forget it? How shall he fall into

¹⁰ In Suikō's reign, A.D. 593-628, Buddhism was openly adopted by the court in Japan. In the reign of Mei, (Ming Ti) A.D. 58-76 it received the imperial sanction in China.

error? Lying down, getting up, moving, resting, all is well. In peace, in trouble, in life, in death, in joy, in sorrow, all is well. Never for a moment will he leave this "Way." This is to know it in ourselves. But I have not yet attained to this, nor do I truly know the "Way."¹¹

THE MORNING GLORY'S HOUR.

Matsunaga thus sings of the Morning-glory:—"The Morning-glory of an hour, Differs not in heart from the pine of a thousand years."¹² What profundity! Many have sung of the morning-glory, of its short life, of autumn loneliness and the vanity of the world. So Hakkuyō:—"After a thousand years the pine decays; The flower has its glory in blooming for a day." That is pretty but it merely makes bloom and decay one. The ignorant think it profound but it is very superficial, like Buddhism and Taoism. Matsunaga's verse has other meaning, has it not? I think it means. "He who in the morning hears the 'Way' may die content at night."¹⁴ To blossom early, wait for the rising sun and die, such is the morning-glory's nature received from Heaven. It does not forget its own nature and envy the pine its thousand years. So every morning splendidly it blooms, waits for the rising sun and dies. Thus it fulfils its destiny. How can we despise this truth the flower reveals? The pine differs not, but we

¹¹ Man's true nature is "law," the eternal "reason" within him. And as "law" is the ideal benevolence and righteousness these too are man's nature. It is therefore "good." But only when this truth is comprehended and obeyed does man "attain." Kyūsō had not yet attained; he could say naught else for so does Confucius speak of himself. *Analects* VII; XXXII, XXXIII.

¹² Matsunaga. an unknown author.

¹³ Hakkuyō. A famous poet of the Tō (Tang) dynasty.

¹⁴ *Analects* IV, VIII.

learn the lesson best from the short-lived flower. The pine's heart is not of a thousand years nor the morning-glory's of an hour, but only that they may fulfil their destiny.

The glory of the thousand years, the evanescence of the single hour are not in pine or flower but in our thought. So is it with unfeeling things, but man has feeling and is the head of all. Yet is he deceived by things and does not attain to this unless he knows the "Way." To know the "Way" is not the mystic contemplation of which Buddhism speaks. The "Way" is so adjusted to all things that even miserable men and women may know and do it. And only as we truly know it can we truly do it. Otherwise even with practice we do not know, and even in doing it we find no profit. Though we are in the "Way" until death we do not understand. Truly to know and act is to be like fish in water and bird in forest.

Reason should be our life. Never should we separate from it. While we live we obey, and "Way" and body together come to death. Long shall we be at peace. To live a day is to obey a day, and then to die: to live a year is to obey a year and then to die. If thus in the morning we hear and die at night there is no regret. So the morning-glory lives a day, blooms wholly as it had received, and without resentment dies. How greatly differ the thousand years of the pine in length, yet both fulfil their destiny and both are equally content. Thus, "The morning-glory of an hour, Differs not in heart from the pine of a thousand years." As Matsunaga shows his aspirations in his verse so I in imitation; "By the truth received from Heaven and Earth, The morning-glory blooms and fades."

"Regret not what you see: Decay and bloom alike are morning-glory's truth."

"Hurting not, lusting not, This is the morning-glory's heart, Not different from the pine's."

The verses are wretched as you see. But never mind their form, take their truth.

THE EYELASH MYSTERY.

Said the students ;—When we read we see only the surface and do not know how to apply the lesson to the world, but you find profound reason in everything. We do not understand that which is close at hand, it is as secret as the eyelashes.

And the Old Man replied ;—Confucius said of the common words of Shun, "They show his wisdom": the Sage does not neglect the speech of the vulgar. "A boy thus sang :—When the river is clear I wash the strings of my cap ; when it is muddy I wash my feet." And its meaning is, the Sage is not stopped but moves with the current of the world. Confucius commented thus,—“Because the water is clear he washes the strings of his cap, because it is muddy he washes his feet ; so the washing is not of man’s goodness or evil but the water by its clearness or muddiness brings it on itself. Consider !”¹⁵ So are praise and shame, misery and blessedness all of self and not of others. Blame not men but heed thyself ! Hear not unthinkingly even a common verse.

When young I met an old philosopher in Kyōto who told me stories of the past, and among them this of Ieyasu. He once said to his followers ;—“Would you avoid misfortune ? Here is advice for you in five syllables or in seven. Which will you have ?” “Give us both,” they said ; and he went on :—“In five,—Do not look above, (ue wo mi na) ; and in seven,—Know thy own capacity (mi no hodo wo shire). Forget them not.”

But men look above and know not themselves. Extravagant, proud, fond of adornment, they crumble their property and invite misfortune. A great daimyō had a karō whose income was ten thousand koku and on a certain day he went to the castle wearing a cotton robe dyed red. Get-

¹⁵ Mencius, Book IV. Pt. I, Chap. VIII; 2-3.

ting wet *en route* he hung his robe in the sun to dry. The daimyō returning from the chase saw the robe and said, "Red fades in the sun, take it inside." But in the house of another great noble was an officer who gave ten gold ryō for the ornaments of his armour and remarked : " Weapons of war are most precious and from this expenditure my son and grandson will know my meaning." A third daimyō was thought especially wise. The son of his karō was fond of medicine cases and wore one, three coral beads ornamenting the string. His lord remarked to him :—"I see you are fond of medicine cases ; here is one that preserves the strength of the medicine for ever. Wear it," and gave him one whose beads were nuts. So all the officials renounced extravagance.

All this was sixty or seventy years ago but now everywhere is extravagance. We may well spend money on our weapons but luxury must be reprov'd. In the Ōsaka war great nobles and knights had only the simplest weapons and armour, while their houses and possessions were ruder still. Extravagance unrepressed destroys the empire. Its origin is selfishness, looking above and not knowing self. This is what Ieyasu meant. This disease, extravagance, is not merely individual and personal. It affects high and low. It leads generals to overestimate their own powers and despise their adversaries. So they lose the empire and themselves, like Nobunaga and many another in China and Japan. But Ieyasu did not become extravagant. He knew himself. Success did not make him proud, and so at last he ruled the empire. His syllables five and seven have profound meaning everywhere.

BENEVOLENCE THE LIFE OF THE SOUL.

One day, after study was ended, the talk was of benevolence and righteousness, and one of the company remarked : The heart of Heaven and Earth becomes man's heart.

Heaven's heart is to produce all things, and as this becomes the heart of man, love to his fellows will be the virtue of his heart. So is it that benevolence, the principle of love, is the virtue of the heart. And with this virtue are all the others, for they are included in it and come from it. This have I learned from you. Benevolence means the heart which loves mankind and is chief of the virtues. Many teachers give the chief place to compassion, and if enough meaning is read into it we may agree; but this teaching that benevolence is the virtue of the heart is not that ordinary shallow commonplace. Why is it that righteousness, propriety and truth are destroyed when there is no benevolence, even though compassion be made the virtue of the heart? Talk to us awhile of this. And the Old Man replied :

I agree with you and have nothing new to say, but still I will speak a little in detail. Benevolence in the heart is like the vital spirits in the body, and as these are shown in the pulse so is benevolence shown in love. When the pulse ceases to beat man dies, and when the law of love is lost the heart is destroyed. Thus is benevolence the life of the heart. It lives with benevolence and pity. Naturally when we see our parents we love them, and naturally we reverence superiors; naturally we are humble in the presence of old age; naturally we respond to the story of righteousness and are ashamed as we hear of evil. But if there is no sympathy or pity the heart is hard like demon, or beast, or wood, or stone, and we have no feeling. How then shall we love or reverence, respond to righteousness or be ashamed at wrong?¹⁶

¹⁶ Our word benevolence by no means precisely represents the Chinese word "jin." Faber translates "humanity" and gives an excellent description of the virtue, "Doctrines of Confucius," pp. 71-75. But though "jin" is the characteristic virtue of man, and

Thus are benevolence, righteousness, propriety and wisdom all of the virtue of the heart. They are separate laws and yet all of this one origin, benevolence. Without it men may have indeed a virtuous appearance and activity, but they come not from the heart and are not true virtue or true law. For benevolence is the essence of virtue and the law of love.

Bravery even comes from benevolence and is of the pitying heart. War seems a violent "way," taking and killing, and compared with benevolence like black compared with white. Yet only when benevolence is its foundation is the warrior's bravery true courage. Only as chivalry, and letters too, and all spring from the heart and combine with benevolence are they true. With such a heart, even if we purpose not to aid our neighbors, still aid them we must and shall.

RIGHTEOUSNESS THE EDGE OF THE HEART.

Another of those present spoke:—We now fully understand that benevolence is the virtue of the heart, the law of love, and that in its perfection all virtues are included. But righteousness is singled out and put with it. Explain, please, this righteousness. So the Old Man replied:

his nature, yet as characteristic too of the heart of Heaven and Earth, humanity is a term at once too narrow and too broad. As St. Paul, in 1st Cor. XIII., sums up all the Christian virtues in the word love, so does "jin" comprise all the Confucian excellences. It is certainly noticeable that the words should so resemble each other, and when benevolence and righteousness are set forth as the very essence of Heaven and Earth we readily exaggerate the likeness of doctrine. But thought his Chinese philosophy has no place for a personal God, yet these virtues are reflected in the operations of impersonal nature, its fertility and its regularity.

As are the In and Yō in Heaven, so are benevolence and righteousness in man. This is the teaching of the Book of Changes:—"The 'Way' of Heaven is In and Yō; the 'Way' of man is benevolence and righteousness."¹⁷ And in the first figure of the Book of Changes the four seasons are all included in spring.¹⁸ Though the spirit of autumn seems to destroy and kill, yet really it strengthens the power that shall bring forth the verdure of the spring. So is it with man's "Way." The four virtues are all in benevolence but not indiscriminately, for without the rule of righteousness the living "Way" of the heart is hurt and benevolence is destroyed.

As I once said to a beginner: Righteousness is the "edge" of the heart. Shushi called it the "ruler" of the heart. Usually, with action, coming and going, taking and giving, the heart is filled up and cannot be just. Such a heart, stuck fast, even when learned, cannot be wise. It is without repentance and makes no rapid advance in virtue. So our action depends upon the "edge" of the heart. Thus did Confucius speak of the superior man: "Righteousness is his nature."¹⁹ And he thus explains a passage in the Book of Changes: "He purifies his heart with reverence and his conduct with righteousness."²⁰ And again, he separates the man of true distinction from the man of mere notoriety thus: "His nature is honest and he loves righteousness."²¹

¹⁷ Book of Changes, Appendix V, Chap. II; 4.

¹⁸ Book of Changes, Appendix I; 1.

¹⁹ Analects XV; 17.

²⁰ Book of Changes, Appendix IV, Sec. II, Chap. II; 6.

²¹ Analects XII; 20.

Our lusts hurt the heart and are the enemies of benevolence and righteousness. Even those who are benevolent and know pity, whose nature is tender, become hard and lose their communion with Heaven when they are led by evil wisdom and by external things. Lusts daily increase like the insects which devour trees, and when the vital spirit dies the great tree is dead. As the edge of the heart is dulled, alas! righteousness disappears. Rust makes valueless the best cutting sword as the edge is dulled. So is it that the Confucian philosophy magnifies benevolence and teaches that self-conquest is essential to its attainment.

When Gankai asked Confucius about benevolence, the Sage replied: "Conquer self and return to propriety."²² Propriety is the adornment of Heaven and Earth, man's rule for self-examination and instrument for victory over self. Gankai sought the method of self-government. Men who know not this cannot conquer self, though they strive strenuously. So it is that the Great Learning put knowledge of the truth before the reformation of the heart.²³ Though we know that the "Way" is benevolence and righteousness, yet we cannot attain perfection if we neglect propriety and knowledge. Thus does the Book of Changes speak of the virtue of the sage: "Knowledge is high, propriety is low; the height of the knowledge is Heaven, the lowliness of the propriety is Earth."²⁴ As the high increases so does the low improve. This is the "Way," complete doing at first and complete doing at last. This has been philosophy's great law from Confucius until now.

²² Analects XII; 1.

²³ The Great Learning, 4-5.

²⁴ Appendix III: Sec. I: Chap. VII. 36.

THE BROAD SPIRIT.

When studying penmanship I read the sentence of Imagawa, "If one of the four virtues is lost, the 'Way' cannot be fulfilled." Imagawa was not a great philosopher, but this saying is truly great. I well remember it yet. All four are important, yet is righteousness next to benevolence, as we may learn from Mencius' teaching of the Broad Spirit, "Very great, very strong, filling Heaven and Earth!"²⁵ Consider how so great a thing can come from righteousness. Endowed with the living spirit of Heaven and Earth man is naturally a broad being, but lusts dull the "edge" of the heart and the spirit grows small. So the broad spirit is from the "edge" of the heart. Without it, as the proverb says, "with one bound of an ox," we are wholly given up to self. Nor are we to be righteous all at once. Mencius says: "It is by the accumulation of righteousness."²⁶ The broad spirit does not give forth its power at once, with one thing or at one time, but day by day using the "edge" of the heart in accord with reason in all things great and small, important and unimportant, without any doubt, as with a sword you cut in two, deciding thus it fits well, this is the "Way," so is the broad spirit produced. Thus ceaselessly, this spirit continuing, ever it grows strong and at last the spirit so aids the "edge" of the heart that it unites with righteousness and the spirit is naturally very broad.

So when in cold weather two men at daybreak are about to rise, the sake drinker does not hesitate while the abstainer shivers with the cold. For the spirit of the liquor aids his "edge" of the heart. But the broad spirit comes from righteousness and yet helps the righteousness, a thing most wonderful!

²⁵ Mencius, Book II, Pt. I, Chap. II; 11-16.

Last year I read in the *Kam-bun-sho*²⁶ of a dragon. The dragon is a thing most wonderful and Divine; and this one made a cloud with its breath and then rode thereon up to the moon and down to the depths. The dragon formed the cloud which aided it in its flight! But not unreasonably are we to use the spirit strength to make the weak strong, or we shall be like the men of So who pulled up the rice that they might help it to grow long!²⁵ That is to injure the "Way" and prevent the accumulation of righteousness. It should be accumulated without definite purpose, yet constantly as day or night a man forgets not his important business. Neither forgotten nor unreasonably accumulated, this is this "edge" of the heart. As the philosophers have said, "Hold with reverence." Not too careful, or greater harm comes than from forgetting to have a care. "Like holding an egg in the hand," not forgetting or down it goes; not too tight or it is crushed.

Not too careless and not too careful. The heart is wonderful and Divine. Empty and idle it cannot be. It must have intercourse with men and act, or in its idleness useless things come forth; it considers things without root or dependence and is confused like hemp. Long ago in Kaga a samurai asked me of this control of the heart and I said to him:—"The heart is like a horse of spirit and "reverence" is that which rides it. If the spirit is weak so are seat and hands, away the horse runs and we are thrown. This is the "forgetting." If we hold too strongly the mouth hurts and the horse cannot go. This is to "nourish unreasonably." Not only is he unable to go: his evil spirit is aroused, he balks and rears and is no benefit but an injury. Not too loose nor too tight, but carefully in the mean, then fast and slow he comes and goes freely obedient to my desire.

²⁶ The writings of Kantaishi, p. 31 above, note.

So wrote I forty years since. Those to whom I wrote are now of the long ago.

Deeply moved was the old man as he spake these words.

THE PEOPLE, THE HEAVEN OF THE KING.

Once at the end of his exposition of the tenth book of the Analects, "He bowed to those who bore the tables of the census," the Old Man asked his guests: What is the meaning of the phrase, "The people are the Heaven of the king and food is the Heaven of the People"?

The people, replied one, are the foundation of the State; when they are obedient the State remains, but when they rebel it is destroyed. As its preservation and destruction are of the people the king must honour them as Heaven. And the people honour their food as Heaven, for it is their life and without it they die.

You have explained correctly the meanings, continued the Old Man, as both honouring agriculture. When Heaven begets men it brings forth grain for their food. If there are men there is grain and if there is grain there are men; if there is no grain there are no men. Nothing excels food. The farmers produce it and are entrusted by Heaven to the king who must honour them as he honours Heaven itself. Not one farmer may be abused. For this reason the census was received of old with honour by the king, and Confucius bowed when he met those who bore it. The people are to remember that they are entrusted with the production of this precious gift of Heaven and are to honour it as Heaven itself. They must not be idle, for their industry determines the land's prosperity.

In the days of the Sage kings all this was heeded. Taxes were light and when the crops failed there was such aid that the people were not scattered abroad. They lived at home without anxiety and gave their produce to the king

and no one failed to make "food to be as Heaven." Gradually their manners became the fashion with the officials and the city folk, and all were frugal and none lazy or luxurious. But later, in the time of the Shin dynasty,²⁷ the heart which made the people to be Heaven grew less, and cruel taxes were imposed until at last there was separation and rebellion. All was confusion and disintegration and the mob originated. Again from the time of the Kan dynasty,²⁷ though there was peace and safety, yet many were intent on gain and the great merchants lived like princes and in imitation the country folk too fell into extravagance and competed in costly amusements. Kagi²⁸ complained to the government, and as something of the heart that makes "the people Heaven" still remained, the Emperor repeatedly proclaimed that agriculture is the foundation of the empire, remitted the taxes and reproved the local officials. He exhorted to filial obedience, brotherly respect and industry. So in the time of Bun-Kei²⁹ lord and servant were frugal and the land grew rich. It was the best period after the times of the Sage kings.³⁰ So our study shows that when the fashions of the country extend to the capital it is well, and when the capital influenced the country it is ill, for in the country is simplicity and in the capital extravagance.

²⁷ The Shin (Ts'in) dynasty reigned B.C. 255-209 and was followed by the Kan (Han) dynasty.

²⁸ A celebrated scholar of the "Han dynasty" who introduced various reforms. Mayers, p. 78.

²⁹ Bun and Kei were emperors of the Han dynasty and reigned in succession, B.C. 179-140.

³⁰ All good was in its perfection in the days of the Sage kings Gyō and Shun. But unfortunately, we know nothing of them or of their times historically. The golden age was already a thousand years in the past when authentic history began in China, the 12th century B. C.

Nowadays, so far as I hear, avaricious officials are many, and in the country too many who are outwardly obedient to the law amass wealth, are pleasure-loving, hide their faults, deceive the Government, injure their fellows and count all this shrewdness. At their feasts they eat only delicacies, gather women for song and dance, and spend immense sums in a day. They think it æsthetic; and when they see a man who is frugal and honest they ridicule him as "rustic" and unaccustomed to the ways of the world. As an individual can do nothing against the multitude, these fashions become universal and even the remote regions are extravagant and false. Alas! all the world praises extravagance and all the world desires money without which these lusts cannot be gratified. So those who are strong seize the wealth of the empire and its circulation is stopped. Gold and silver are scarce. But food grows every year, so it is cheap and money is dear. The *sannurai* who are paid in grain must exchange cheap grain for dear cash and have not enough, while those who have money buy cheap grain with dear coin and increase their goods. But with limited coin their extravagance is unlimited and useful money goes for useless things. Money is less and less in quantity day by day and does not circulate. Rice grows ever cheaper, yet the poor country folk cannot buy it. The rich feast daily but the green-coloured⁸¹ are ever at their side. The bad become robbers to save their lives. From extravagance comes poverty and from poverty theft.

This has not come about in a day. Until sixty or seventy years ago there was prosperity. Some were extravagant but the majority were frugal, for many old men of the former age still lived, men who had endured hardship as soldiers and had known no luxury even in their dreams. But their descendants, trained in their houses, think frugality rustic. The elders were without outer adornments but their

⁸¹ The starving.

inner qualities were great. They loved labour and were loyal and sympathetic. But after their time the samurai with their hereditary pensions knew nothing of hardship in the times of peace. They desire drink and pleasure and know not its poison. Extravagant and vain and profligate, no wonder we are in such condition. Still worse are the money-getters and the givers of great entertainments. And the evil goes into the provinces. There remains even now something of the ancient customs, differing from the great towns. But the people are foolish and profligate, and some commit great crimes. Foolish and angry in their misery, some even rise against the Government. Still they are not cheats like the townfolk. They are naturally honest, simple, easily moved by blessings, quick to follow reason and satisfied with their daily food. When the officials remember the heart which makes the people Heaven, and modify the taxes according to circumstances and so treat the people that they may nourish parents and children without fear of death from cold and hunger, then the people are in peace. When the laws are made known showing the punishments for crime, forbidding extravagance, reproving the idle and dissolute, then the people admire and obey. As they become good their virtue passes to the towns. The townfolk are not the tenth of the countrymen; yet town fashions permeate the provinces. Were the countrymen content and prosperous, still more readily then would their fashions go throughout the empire conquering extravagance and evil. Without doubt extravagance would give way gradually to frugality.

THE SKIRT OF FUJI.

Of old it was said : " When the people are discontented they think of insurrection," so important is their peace to the empire. In the days of Ieyasu a certain samurai who loved philosophy was sent on a tour of inspection. Before starting he asked his teacher for advice and was told, " You will travel around the skirt of Fuji, study the plain on

which it stands. Such a mountain can stand only on so great a plain. Mountains stand secure because they spread wide out their base. With top big and base small, over they would fall. Would you now serve the Government? Care for the people. I have no advice to give but this." This is the meaning of that figure of a mountain standing on the earth in the Book of Changes.²² The mountain rears itself on high but the base clings to the earth. The earth is its source. So are rulers to make the top small and the base great. Then is the empire at peace, like the mountain. But if the top is increased and the base diminished there is danger; it is a mountain upside down.

This is my thought:—In the towns are many evil men who set fire to houses and work mischief. For the greater part they are wanderers from the country who have come aimlessly to town because of the misery in the provinces. Should they return they would find no occupation and no place for their bodies. So their only resource is to rob and steal. Were the provinces unoppressed and the family relationship maintained, men would come to town only in exceptional circumstances. Should they find no work in town they would go home again. Had they friends they would not throw away their lives by committing crimes sure to be punished. Even the outcasts would go to their friends for aid. But now the provinces are in distress and all gather in the towns. And useless extravagance leads the fashion. The nobles, high officials and the rich put crowds of these fellows in livery. They gather in the long houses to drink and game. They drink until drunk, and by their carelessness the house catches fire and burns. The worst of them steal their master's money and fire the house to hide their misdeeds. The carelessness of the master permits such evils, but the real cause is the evil love of luxury. Stop the extravagant customs of the town and the provinces will prosper.

²² Book of Changes. Appendix II., Hex. XXIII.

THE EMPIRE'S TREASURE.

But ever with a century of peace comes extravagance. That it may be replaced by frugality, honest and economical samurai must be given office. Mere laws and the machinery of government will not avail. So it is said: "Teach by example and they follow; by words and they accuse." When the great officers are righteous the mass of officials naturally follow with reverence and fear. When the great officers teach with words the subordinates quarrel and disobey. Though laws be many and increase yet is control difficult. The real and final fault is the unfitness of the officials for their places. Laws are necessary, but their efficiency is according to the men who enforce them. As Confucius said, "Government is by the man. With him it is complete; when he is destroyed it ceases."

The changes of man's heart are not according to a fixed system, but evil and good, falsehood and truth, are confused together. So the plausible excuses of Shokufu, though he seemed to make out his case, were not accepted by Choseki-shi;³³ and the efficient general was not dismissed when he was accused of stealing eggs;³⁴ the seeming frugality of Kosonko in wearing a cotton robe was really evil extravagance, while the seeming extravagance of Kakushige³⁵ in the end was not to be reproved as wrong. We cannot govern a multitude of changing beings by unchanging laws. That is like playing a koto with its bridge made fast, like marking the side of the boat that we may find again the sword lost overboard. Not thus are changing conditions suitably met.

³³ A councillor of Han Wen Ti, B. C. 179.

³⁴ Suin of Wei accused of stealing two eggs when a boy. Retained "since no one is perfect," Chinese Repository, Feb. 1851. p. 103.

³⁵ D. 122 B. C. He had been a swineherd and became a minister. Mayers, p. 90. He used all of his own property for others. Kosonko affected economy that he might increase his popularity.

Find the proper man and entrust the laws to him. Let him assert or modify, advance or retreat, using the laws according to the times, using them as not immovably bound by them. He should skillfully roll them along and not be rolled along by them. When all is entrusted to officials such as these, the Government is not obstructed, the laws are enforced, the people obey and there is continual peace. Jewels are not the treasure of the empire but wise men.

Reverently would I speak my admiration of the great Ieyasu.⁸⁶ Once when an office was vacant he said to his minister (karō): "I shall give the office to so and so. What is his character?" But the karō replied, "I do not know. He does not come to my house." Ieyasu changed colour and replied, "I am to be blamed if unreasonably I ask your opinion of the character of each one of my many men-at-arms and if it is not your duty to know. But so and so has rank and wealth. He is unknown to no one. What duty have you more important than to know the leading men and give me information when I ask it? Should you reply 'I do not know'? Not know? I erred when I entrusted you with an office of such importance. Consider. The faithful samurai does not go familiarly to the house of his superior. You are to seek out the good men among them and know them that they may not be unemployed. That is your duty to me. When fine swords, daggers and articles for the cha-no-yu are spoken of you seek them that they may be shown to me. But the best of them do not serve the State. They are not essential. But I ever say that man is the 'treasure of treasures.' And you are so inattentive that you can answer me like this? If you know only those who call at your house you will corrupt the samurai. They will think they

⁸⁶ Ieyasu is always referred to by his posthumous title, Tō-shō-gū, but I have retained his well known name.

must flatter the men in power. My samurai, modest and virtuous, are the life-power of the state. If their hearts are soiled and they become shameless and spiritless in every thing, putting up with insults that they may save their lives, they will have no heart to fulfil righteousness. So with the loss of their vitality will the vigour of the State fail. Then the State will readily be overturned and destroyed. Fail not to remember what I say."

So did Ieyasu make wise men his treasure, and their righteousness the life-power of the State. Of all our rulers he stands first. I need not dwell longer on his lecture to the karō. In the Book of Rites provision is made for an officer whose duty shall be the choice of man. But in time the good old way failed and men were chosen only for rank, words, literary skill, and such like empty things. So has it been for generations. And in Japan from the beginning of the Kamakura times⁸⁷ lord and karō never thought of advancing men by the test of character. How such men would fear this sharp word of Ieyasu. All fear and follow him, So it is that from his time many men of high character appear who govern well. There is constant progress and all in the empire are at peace. This blessing is all from him. To worship such virtue day and night is not enough.

CUSTOM IS THE FIELD OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Naught else is so essential to the empire as custom. The ruler's authority is like Heaven and his fear is as thunder, who dare disobey? But as the proverb says, "Against the multitude no hand," so against custom is no victory.

⁸⁷ The beginning of the Kamakura times was toward the end of the twelfth century, when it was founded by Yoritomo.

Mandates and laws effect a temporary reformation, but constantly do they yield and fail long to influence those beneath their sway. They permeate but a little way and are lost in the mass.

Custom is like a field and government like seed. Be the seed never so good, if the field is ill prepared it will not grow. Good laws accomplish nothing unless the customs too are good. First prepare the soil and then sow the seed. First reform customs if we desire good government. And the source of customs is the ruler himself. Let him govern himself and thus inspire those who are below. This is the unchanging law. If he govern not himself there is no model for the people.

When good or evil has hardened into custom there can be no immediate change. To go over to the bad is easy, but to become good is difficult. If reform is purposed, tie fast custom that there be no drift into evil. The ruler cannot accomplish it alone, but all the officials, small and great, must perceive his purpose, govern themselves and be examples to the people. Nowadays all know the frugality of the Shōgun, yet the extravagance of the lower orders ceases not. Such worthless men as I ever celebrate the virtues of the Shōgun, still more should all the high officials approve him. Doubtless they are not all slothful and yet cannot at once reform the customs which have long been decayed.

In the period Manji-Kwambun (1658-1672) quails were the fashion, and men of wealth competed for them and they became very costly. Abe Bungo no Kami, Tada-aki, fancied them and kept a cage ever by his side. A daimyō knew his fancy and buying one of highest price sent it to Abe by his physician. So the physician took it and said, "Be so kind as to accept it." But Abe merely replied, "I'll consider it." Then in a moment he called his servant and told him to turn the doors of the cages to the garden and open them. Out flew all the quails, to the surprise of the physician, who said, "Have they been so long with you that they will come

back again?" "No," was the reply; "I have let them go. By the will of the Shōgun I have been promoted and should have no fancies. Unthinkingly I became fond of quails and now men bring them as presents. I'll care for them no more." That answer made the physician ashamed. It is difficult to give up one's fancy and there is no objection to the acceptance of gifts. But Abe forgot not the people of his master. Trifles become the fashion, influence one's own rule and must be carefully guarded. And the other officials of the time were also pure and free from extravagance; nor were they proud of their power. And as their customs influenced those below them, the people too became pure and honest.

So does custom generally pass from rulers to the people, but the opposite is sometimes true. When the source is pure the stream is clear, and when the source is impure so is the stream. But if mud heaps up at the mouth it dams the stream, and the impurity ascends even to the source. So nowadays the sons of wealthy merchants in company with samurai and officials, with rascals and dissolute townfolk, make brothels their home by day and night, and waste their time in play and drink. The custom penetrates higher circles, and even nobles and high officials go secretly to brothels and samurai are eager to be leaders in debauchery. This is the influence of the low upon the high. To amend it only good men should be made high officials and thus will the stream be purified at its source. Then next, the dissolute among the people should be searched out and put under arrest that the mud may be removed from the mouth.

And there are other evils. The common folk are far from the tribunals. They have the right to enter protest against wrongs but, ignorant of the ceremonies and without learned words, they cannot go to the fine office and minutely state their case. The minor officials do not wish to listen, are proud of their authority and ready with severe reproof for the smallest error, even of a word. So people dread

the trouble, even when their cause is clearly just. And with only one court the cases heap up like mountains, as petitions come in from the four quarters. The smallest affair takes days, the neighbors are repeatedly summoned as witnesses, until the whole village is involved and hates the whole affair. The expense is great, and so, for the most part, wrongs are the rather borne in silence. Robbers and sins will never be diminished in this fashion.

The distance of the court and the difficulty of the procedure are the source of the trouble. Small courts should be set up everywhere with good men in authority. They should be connected with the higher courts. The system of grouping five or ten houses together with mutual responsibility should be made more strict. Then bad men may be accused even though they do not actually violate the laws, They can be examined at once and released if their offence is trifling and sent to prison if it is great. All should be written out and sent with the prisoner to the central tribunal there to be judged. So there will still be communication with the Government in everything though it go not to the central tribunal first. As the smaller courts can decide at once there will be no delay. As the guilty cannot be hidden they will fear public opinion. They will not be influenced at once but still will naturally reform. But customs cannot be reformed while the tribunal prefers to be idle, and while it cares only when the laws are broken.

In my opinion the reform of evil customs, while a way roundabout and slow, is the only efficient method. It is evil customs that obstruct the Government and destroy the virtue of the samurai.

BOOK III. PROPRIETY.

THE EMPIRE, THE EMPIRE OF THE EMPIRE.

When spring was giving way to summer and the days grew long, the leaves of the trees forming bowers more beautiful even than the flowers of spring, the Old Man spread his books beneath the window, read history and reflected profoundly. His friends came to spend the day with him, reading and talking. In some connection, I have forgotten what, some one said, "We cannot forget the former kings."¹ And the Old Man remarked:—

The empire is peace. Men of rank and virtue may treat their parents as is becoming parents and their virtue as becomes virtue; and the common folk too may find pleasure in their pleasure, profit in their profit, and leisure in their leisure. Thus our years pass away. It is all the blessing of peace. Since Ieyasu, his hair brushed by the wind, his body anointed with the rain, with lifelong labour caused confusion to cease and order to prevail, for more than an hundred years there has been no war. The waves of the four seas have been unruffled and no one has failed of the blessings of peace. We common folk must speak with reverence, yet is it the duty of scholars to celebrate the virtue of the Government. Not standing too much on ceremony, I have been thinking much of late of one detail in so great a mass of virtue and would proclaim it to all, as now to you.

¹ Book of Poetry—"The sacrificial Odes of Kau," Ode IV.

It is written, "Let the lord of the empire forget not that the empire is the empire of the empire, and not of one man."² Famous is that saying, and irrevocable for a thousand years! In China, excepting the Sage kings, most of the emperors who quieted confusion took the empire to be their own, and not the empire of the empire. When one of the emperors³ at the beginning of his reign heard that his most famous general was ill at the war, he recalled him in haste and vainly sought his cure by the aid of physicians. Then at last the emperor prayed to mountain, river, Heaven, "Spare his life a few years, and take mine with his!" He would not that he should survive his general, and so he swore by his own life. I am deeply moved as I read this incident. Of such a ruler it is said, "An emperor in truth."⁴ But those who long rule naturally come to think the empire given for one's own pleasure. They hold the empire fast lest some one take it from them, as a child holds fast its favourite toy. With such a heart, even though the empire is taken, it cannot long be held, as Nobunaga and Hideyoshi⁵ illustrate. They had no benevolence and the loss of the empire was of course. They were not fit to hold it. As men of old further said, "Treasure hides deep in the mountain: the man finds it who seeks it not."

² From the *Rikuto* of the *Shichisho*. 七書六編

³ Chu Yuen-chang, a plebeian by birth who overthrew the Mongols, A. D. 1368, and set up the Ming dynasty. "The Middle Kingdom," Vol. II, p. 176.

⁴ So said the celebrated general Baen (Ma Yuan) of his emperor Kwang Wu Ti of the Han dynasty, who reigned in China, A.D. 25-58.

⁵ Nobunaga, when at the height of his power, was treacherously killed, A. D. 1582. Hideyoshi then seized the power, and died A. D. 1598. After a time of war and strife Ieyasu overthrew all enemies and became Shōgun, handing down the position to his successors, forming the famous dynasty of the Tokugawa.

In the year A. D. 1586, after the battle at Nagakute, Ieyasu made peace with Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi sent a messenger to Hamamatsu in Enshu and invited Ieyasu to Ōsaka. But he refused to go, though repeated messengers came with urgent invitations. At last Hideyoshi sent his mother as hostage and thus urged consent. Then Ieyasu agreed to go. But his followers feared treachery and sought to dissuade him ;—" If you do not go it is true that Hideyoshi may renew the war, but your forces are the stronger and we are ready to throw away our lives. He cannot win though he bring an hundred times ten thousand men." But Ieyasu replied :—" It is as you say, and I do not accept his invitation because I fear him. But think how constant has been the war for generations without peace in capital or provinces until now. At last we have peace. Should I fight Hideyoshi, war begins again to the misery of the empire. If I meet evil, for the empire I shall die." ⁶ With profound admiration all heard these words and could urge nothing more. He well knew his danger, and when he started for Ōsaka entrusted his affairs to his ministers Ii and Honda. Such words of truth affect both men and Heaven ; and as Heaven's decree was in accord with the hearts of men he took possession of the empire. As the Chinese emperor prayed by his own life for the life of his general, so did Ieyasu pray by his life for the peace of the empire. There was the same broad spirit in them both, not attached to treasures but to righteousness ; yet did Ieyasu exceed the other.

Once when in a friend's house our host related this story of Ieyasu, and guests and host were affected to tears. Strategists and schemers may think it a plan for attaching

⁶ See Rein's Japan, p.280. The comparative merits of Hideyoshi and Ieyasu are still stoutly debated. Kyusō is, of course, a thorough-going partisan.

men to self, and it may so seem to those who ever study from a false point of view. That cannot be helped. It is not told for the sake of such.

REMONSTRANCE MORE DIFFICULT THAN THE FOREMOST SPEAR.

But ever in China and Japan alike most men when in power have thought the empire the empire of one man. They have been extravagant and have laboured for fame. But Ieyasu served the empire, not thinking it his own nor desirous of luxury. He made his rule strong and bequeathed it to future generations; his glory remains and the empire rests in peace.

After his great victory at Seki-ga-hara⁷ some of his followers said to him,—“The empire is yours, gather treasures that your name may last. Hideyoshi built Dai Butsu.”⁸ But Ieyasu replied,—“So, Hideyoshi will be remembered by his Dai Butsu, but I care nothing for the transmission of my single name. I shall study the interests of the empire and leave it to my heir, that is far beyond building many a Dai Butsu.” Doubtless their proposal seemed foolish to him. To conquer Korea, erect Dai Butsu and spend vast treasures is to injure the empire, though it be wonderful in the eyes and ears of fools. Already thoughtful men condemn and the name remains to future time disgraced. But the Nikkō shrines are revered in all the provinces. Do you not understand? This is the true, illustrious undecaying name ever to be admired.

⁷ The decisive victory by which Ieyasu won the empire, A. D. 1600.

⁸ At Kyōto. It was destroyed by an earthquake, 1598. Quite a different view of the conduct of Ieyasu in connection with the Dai Butsu is given in Satow and Hawes' "Handbook," 1st. ed., p. 321. There he is represented as urging the heir of Hideyoshi to rebuild it on such a splendid scale as would exhaust his finances. And in connection with its dedication Ieyasu sought cause for offence and brought about the final downfall of his young rival. Ieyasu and his grandson are buried at Nikkō.

Ieyasu excelled all, but was not vain of his wisdom. On the contrary he approved the honest remonstrance of his inferiors. And indeed remonstrance may be put as the foundation of the wisdom of the ruler. Only the Sage does not err. If a man listen to reproof, though he err he is like a sick man who takes medicine and regains his strength. But however wise a man may be, if he will not listen to remonstrance he is like one who will take no medicine because his illness is slight and so the danger remains. But most strong rulers hate reproof and insist upon their own way. In China is the office of censor, but it is of little use. It is only a name, for honest men are readily removed and flatterers given office. When there is error there is no reform, nor remonstrance when the Government is bad, a grief that lasts from ancient days until now. It is still worse in Japan with its feudal government; the rulers govern by force of arms and inferiors must obey. Remonstrance ceases and sympathy with the people ends. Daily the evil grows, but those who know its cause are few.

Ieyasu was born in the midst of war and turmoil. He was sympathetic to inferiors and ever opened the way of words. Most admirable of men! Once in his castle, Honda Sado no Kami was present with some others. At the end of their business all withdrew save Honda and one other. The latter presented a writing to Ieyasu, who took it, asking, "What is this?" "Matters I have thought of much," was the reply, "and venture respectfully to suggest, thinking possibly one in ten thousand may be of use." "Thanks," said Ieyasu; "read it. There is no reason why Honda should not hear." So he began, and Ieyasu assented to each of the many particulars and finally took the paper saying, "Always be free to say what you think necessary." Afterwards when Honda only remained he said, "It was rudely done, and not a suggestion of value in it all." But Ieyasu waved his hand dissentingly. "Though it is not of great value still he had thought it over carefully and wrote

it in secret for my eye. His spirit should be praised. If he suggests anything of value I'll adopt it; if not, I'll let it alone. We should not call such remonstrance rude. Men do not know their own faults, but common folks have friends who reprove and criticise. They have opportunity for reform. This is their advantage. But rulers have no friends, but constantly meet with their inferiors who assent respectfully to every word. So they cannot know and reform, to their great loss. They lose their power and destroy their house because no one will remonstrate, and all they do is approved as right. Most essential is it that they be told their faults."

Honda remembered this and told it to his son weeping, as he spoke of the Shōgun's deep heart and broad humanity. And when the young man asked the name of the man and the purport of his paper, thinking to ridicule him, Honda reproved him sharply: "What have you to do with the man and his suggestions? Think of your lord's fine spirit!"

Afterwards, said Ieyasu to his samurai:—"A ruler must have faithful ministers. He who sees the error of his lord and remonstrates, not fearing his wrath, is braver than he who bears the foremost spear in battle. In the fight body and life are risked, but it is not certain death. Even if killed there is deathless fame and his lord laments. If there is victory great reward and glory are won and the inheritance goes down to son and grandson. But to grieve over his lord's faults and faithfully remonstrate when the words do not pass the ears and touch the heart is hard indeed. Disliked, distantly received, displaced by flatterers, his advice not taken, however loyal he may be at last he gives up the task, professes illness or retires into the quiet of old age. If he dares to risk his lord's displeasure in his faithfulness he may be imprisoned or even killed. He who fears not all this, but gives up even life to benefit his country, is highly to be praised. Compared with him the foremost spear is an easy post." To all ages should these words be repeated as a command.

SUGITA IKI.

So then the foremost place in the battle seems a place of difficulty but is not, and to remonstrate with one's lord seems easy, but is not. Lord and servant praise the foremost spear but I do not hear them praising him who loyally reproves. They should remember these words of Ieyasu.

In Kwan-ri Kan-ei, (1624-1648) the former lord of Echizen, Io no Kami, had a karō named Sugita Iki. He had risen from the ranks by his merits. It was his business to provide the funds for his lord's very expensive attendance in Edo. Not fearing his lord's wrath he was ever ready to reprove. And once it happened when Io no Kami was in Echizen that he went hawking, and on his return his karō all went forth to meet him. He was unusually happy and said, "The young men have never done better. If they always work as well they are certain of employment by the Shōgun in case of war. Rejoice with me!" So all congratulated him except Sugita alone. He said nothing, remaining at the foot of the line. Io no Kami waited a while wonderingly, and then said, "What do you think?" And Sugita replied, "With due respect yet are your remarks a cause for grief. When the samurai went with you their thought was this,—if we do not please him he may kill us; and they took final farewell of wife and child. So I have heard. If they thus hate their lord they will be useless in battle. Unless you know this it is foolish to rely on them."

Io no Kami scowled, and his sword bearer said to Sugita, "Go, please!" But Sugita scowled at him and said, "My task is not to go hawking with him and surround monkey or wild boar! Do not tell me what is of use!" So he cast aside his short sword, went to Io's side and said: "Kill me! It is far better than to live in vain and see your downfall! I shall count it as a sign of your favour!" So he folded his hands and stretched out his neck to the

blow. Io went to his apartment without a word. And the other karō said to Sugita : " What you say is true, but have a regard to the proper season. It was ill to mar the pleasure of his return." But Sugita replied :—" There is never a proper season for remonstrance. I thought it fitting to-day. I have risen from the ranks and doubtless look at things differently from you. My death is of no consequence." All listened with admiration.

Sugita went home and prepared himself for harakiri, awaiting his lord's word. His wife had been with him from the time he was in the ranks, and to her he said : " I have a word to leave with you. A woman cannot be directly honoured by our lord, but as he has honoured me you have shared in it. You are no longer the wife of a foot soldier but of a karō. You have many servants. It is an infinite blessing he has conferred on you, is it not ? After I am dead, remember this great blessing morning and evening and feel no hatred to your lord. If in your grief you hate him in the least and it appear in words, in the depths of Hades I shall know it and be displeased." In constant expectation he waited until late at night when there came a rapping at his door. Some one said : " His lordship has business for you. Come to the castle." " The time has come," Sugita thought, as he obeyed. But Io sent for Sugita to come direct to his bed chamber and said : " I cannot sleep for thoughts of your words to-day. So I have sent for you so late at night. I need not speak of my errors. I am filled with admiration at your straightforward remonstrance." Therewith he handed Sugita a sword as a reward.⁹ At this so unexpected an event Sugita wept as he withdrew.

When I was in Kaga an Echizen man told me this. Sugita was such an one as Ieyasu praised. Such a karō has a station more difficult far than the foremost spear.

⁹ The direct bestowal of a gift by the hand of the daimyō was regarded as the greatest of rewards.

BAN DAIZEN.

Skillful flatterers are liked and find ready employment, but in matters of importance strong-hearted men are the only resource. I have another story for you, different from Sugita's.

During the winter war at Ōsaka, Katakiri Ichi no Kami, a follower of Ieyasu, was in the castle of Ibaraki in Setsu. Hearing that Shibayama Kohei in the castle at Sakae in Idzumi was in danger, Katakiri determined to send him aid. *En route* Katakiri's troops were surrounded by their enemies from Ōsaka at Amagaseki; and as those in the Amagaseki castle refused all aid, the troops were every one slain. The lord of Amagaseki was a child and the castle was commanded by generals owing allegiance to Musashi no Kami. Now Musashi no Kami doubted the loyalty of Katakiri to Ieyasu and therefore refused to succor his troops. But all the world believed that Musashi no Kami was secretly friendly to the enemy.

After peace was made Ieyasu examined this matter in the Castle of Nijō in Kyōto. Musashi no Kami was represented by his karō Ban Daizen, a man well known to Ieyasu. Ban Daizen made his representations, but the wrath of Ieyasu ceased not. "You have excuses in abundance," he said, "yet Musashi no Kami allowed his allies to be killed before his eyes. That is his wretched heart!" and he started to leave the room, but Ban Daizen cast aside his short sword, crept to the Shōgun's side and laid hold upon his skirt. He wept and cried,—"Oh! How merciless! Even if not your daughter's son, yet is not Musashi no Kami your grandson?"¹⁰ When can I speak if not now?" His sincerity effected his purpose, and the Shōgun said, "Very well! Go back at once and put Musashi no Kami at ease." Ban Daizen made obeisance with folded hands and bowed head, and retired.

The Shōgun said to those who remained, "Daizen's

¹⁰ Through adoption.

father's name was also Daizen. He was a betto. When Musashi no Kami's father was young and was still called Shozaburō, he was in the battle at Nagakute. When his father and brother were killed he started his horse that he might go and die with them. But Daizen seized the bridle, stopped the horse, turned him about and fled with him. Shozaburō in great anger shouted, "Let go!" and for a quarter of a mile kicked Daizen about the head until the blood flowed from his face like a cataract. But Daizen kept his hold and brought Shozaburō off. Had he been killed his useless death would have ended his family, so the feudal house of Banshu is the work of Daizen. The son is like the father. No one else would do what he has done just now. Musashi no Kami is favoured in having such a servant."

And there is no other like instance. No other man of low rank has thus taken his life in his hand and approached the Shōgun in behalf of the innocence of his lord. And so it was that the Shōgun listened, relented and admired. Truly it was not an ordinary affair! And it illustrates too the great virtue of the Shōgun. He ever restrained his wrath and strengthened the faithfulness of his followers. He did not restrain and curb their courage, and they thought nothing of giving up their lives for his sake. Many wise and skilful nobles and generals have come to grief in the end because they curbed the faithfulness of their followers and depended wholly on themselves. The profound wisdom of Ieyasu is in striking contrast, and it was this that made his bowmen and spearmen the best in the empire.

But men say nowadays, "Tokugawa won because that was his fate and fate is irresistible!" His humanity and virtue were great and naturally he satisfied the decree of Heaven. But this alone does not account for his success. The strength of his troops explains his "fate." He cultivated their faithfulness. It is most essential thus to promote the faithfulness of the common people. How shallow is this talk of his resistless fate!

THE FIDELITY OF THE SAMURAI.

In the period Genko-Kemmu (1331-1335) many samurai were faithful unto death. I admire with tears a retainer of Hō-jō Takatoku named Andōzaimon Shoshu, the uncle of Nitta Yoshisada's wife. When Kamakura was taken by Nitta his wife secretly sent a letter to her uncle. He was a general fighting with the Hōjō and against Nitta. His soldiers were killed, himself was wounded and he was retreating when news came that Takatoku had burned his castle and fled to Tōshōji. Andōzaimon asked if many had killed themselves at the burning of the castle and was told "not one." "Shameful," he replied. "There we will die." So with an hundred men he went on to the castle and wept as he beheld the smoking ruins. Just then came the letter from his niece. He opened it and read,—“Since Kamakura is destroyed come to me. I'll obtain your pardon with my life.” Very angrily he spoke, “I have been favoured by my lord, as all know. Shall I be so shameless as to follow Yoshisada now! His wife wants to help her uncle; but if Yoshisada knows the duty of a samurai he will put a stop to such attempts. He did not send it or agree to it. But if he did, if he meant to test me, she should not have permitted such an attempt to destroy my name. He and his wife alike are worthy of contempt!” With grief and anger there before the messenger, he wrapped the letter around his sword and slew himself.

Ah, what a man was that! How pure his purpose! Who can excel him?

But in recent years in the period Tenshō (A. D. 1573-1590) a retainer of Takeda Katsuyori named Komiyama Naizen is most to be admired. He was the favourite of his master, until at last they were separated by a quarrel and Naizen was condemned through false witnesses and dismissed from office. When the troops of Oda Nobunaga attacked the province of Kai, Katsuyori was defeated and fled

with forty-two followers to Tenmokuzan. When Naizen heard of the disaster he wished to help and met Katsuyori on his retreat. All the false witnesses, all with whom Naizen had quarrelled had fled, deserting their lord. Sorrowfully spoke Naizen: "My lord dismissed me, and now should I die for my country it will be a reflection on his judgment; but if I do not die I shall injure the fidelity of the samurai. Though I hurt his fame I must not forsake virtue," and he died with the forty-two faithful ones. As all the others had fled and these forty-two samurai alone held faithful to their lord without a thought of disobedience, they all illustrate samurai fidelity. But Naizen was preëminent among them, for he had been unjustly condemned and came expressly that he might die.

When Katsuyori and all his party had been destroyed, Ieyasu much admired the fidelity of Naizen and regretted that his worship should cease, as he had no children. So Ieyasu employed Naizen's younger brother, and before the battle at Odawara gave him a high command, speaking at length of Naizen's fidelity,—“Naizen was a model samurai, and though his brother is so young I have given him this command in token of my admiration of such loyalty.” Truly that was praise after death, and the reward of loyalty.

THE HEROIC WOMAN HAS NO SEED.

When in Kaga I heard a man remark:—“All sins, great and small, may be forgiven on repentance and no scars remain, except two; the flight of a samurai from the post where he should die, and theft. These leave a lifelong wound which never heals. All born as samurai, men and women, are taught from childhood that fidelity must never be forgotten.” Thereupon I continued:—Of course, and woman is ever taught that submission is her chief duty, and though she fully perform this high duty of fidelity, yet is she never to

forget this one thing. If in unexpected strait her weak heart forsakes fidelity, all her other virtues will not atone. In Japan and China alike have been women whose virtue has exceeded that of man.

The wife of Nagaoka Itchu no Kami Tadaoki, was the daughter of Akechi Mitsuhide, the retainer of Oda Nobunaga who killed both his lord and his lord's son.¹¹ In turn he was destroyed by Hideyoshi. Later Tadaoki, at the time of Seki-ga-hara, went to join Ieyasu in the east. During his absence Ishida Mitsunari¹² sent troops to Tadaoki's castle to seize his wife, but she exclaimed, "I'll not disgrace my husband's house through my desire for life," and killed herself before the enemy got in. Excited by her virtue, the two or three samurai who were with her fired the mansion and slew themselves, and her women took hold of hands, jumped into the fire and died. Even yet shall we praise that deed! The rebel Mitsuhide had such a child, scarcely equalled in China or Japan! As the proverb says: "The general has no seed," so I'll add,—The heroic woman has no seed.¹³

But a guest remarked:—"Not so; not having seed is still to have seed. Fidelity makes the nature of benevolence and righteousness its seed. Then without place or ancestor, without race, without the distinction of high or low, male or female, without family connection, good children come from evil parents, and evil children from the good."

The Old Man was greatly pleased and said:—True! I had thought only of man's nature, not of Heaven's. Such

¹¹ Rein, p. 270 and p. 276.

¹² Ishida Mitsunari was the chief opponent of Ieyasu, in the struggles following the death of Hideyoshi. Mitsunari vainly attempted to attach Tadaoki to his cause but Tadaoki joined Ieyasu. Rein p. 296.

¹³ For a somewhat similar incident see Rein, p. 279. In the war of the restoration in 1868 some samurai women of Aizu slew their infant sons and themselves when the castle fell.

virtue of women and the vulgar must be praised as Heaven's nature. Thus will the samurai be excited to virtue and virtuous hearts will be produced. Let me speak of Shidzuka, the uneducated concubine of Minamoto Yoshitsune.¹⁴ She was a famous dancer in Kyōto, talented, beautiful and beloved of Yoshitsune. When he fled she went with him to Mt. Yoshino and then returned to Kyōto. Called to Kamakura and examined she replied: "I know so far as Mt. Yoshino. No further." She lingered there until the birth of Yoshitsune's child. Yoritomo desired to see her dance and commanded her presence at Tsurugaoka.¹⁵ She refused repeatedly but was forced to comply at last. Yoritomo expected a song and dance for his feast, but she sang:

To and fro like the reel

Would that old times might return!

I long for the trace of the man

Who entered Yoshino's snow white peak.

Yoritomo cried out in anger: "You sing of that rebel Yoshitsune instead of celebrating the present time! It is a crime!" But at the request of his wife he forgave the girl. She cared not, but returned straight to Kyōto and lived in seclusion. Yoritomo's great power bent trees and grass but she feared it not. Her heart was wholly set on Yoshitsune and she excelled the samurai who died with him at Takadate.

I regret that the Kyōto scholar, Nakamura Tekizai, omitted Shidzuka from his account of the famous women of China and Japan, the Hime Kagami. Probably her low origin and occupation as a dancing girl accounts for her exclusion. But her story teaches an important lesson and must not be forgotten. The Book of Poetry says, "Take the herbs; uproot them not as lowly born."

¹⁴ Rein pp. 239-240. The great popularity of Yoshitsune brought upon him the fatal jealousy of his brother, Yoritomo, who was the first Shōgun.

¹⁵ Tsurugaoka, a temple near Kamakura.

AMANO SABUROBEI.

Another day the Old Man said to the assembled guests : This fidelity reveals itself in the stress of strange events. Even in peace and safety pure-hearted samurai are to be highly prized, for they perfectly perform their official duties, and when the emergency comes reveal their fidelity. In peace and in war they are invaluable. Every wise and brave samurai may be given office, and he will have his use; but only the pure in heart must be placed in high position. Unless the heart is pure there is flattery and strife for power and fame, and apparent friends will hate each other. Then wisdom and bravery too will disappear. Timidly will precedents be followed, and each will so act that evil may not come to self. There will be no sign of anything superior, and duty will be slackly performed or wholly forgotten.

In the period Ei-roku (A. D. 1558-1570), Ieyasu was in Mikawa.¹ He established the laws and appointed three officers, Kōriki Yozaemon Kiyonaga, Honda Sakuzaemon Shigetsugu and Amano Saburobei Yasukage, popularly called Buddha Kōriki, Demon Sakuza and Pliant Amao; for the first was merciful, the second severe and the third neither merciful nor severe but guided wholly by reason. All three were of pure heart and there was no competition between them. No one sought to conform to the others, but each followed his own judgment. So Ieyasu gave them the same office and each went his own way independently, but as their government was righteous and as everything was well cared for, all men admired Ieyasu's clear judgment in the choice of men.

I do not know particularly the characteristics of Honda and Kōriki, but in the period Keichō (A. D. 1596-1614) Amano had the castle Kokokuji in Suruga, with an income of thirty thousand koku of rice.² He had an immense number of bamboos cut, piled up and ready for use, with

¹ Ieyasu was the Daimyo of Mikawa before he became Shōgun.

² A koku of rice is 5.13 bushels.

three foot soldiers in charge. Some men came from the estates of the Shōgun and stole some of the bamboos, one of the robbers being killed by the guards. The men who escaped complained to Ide, a local official of the Shōgun. Ide may have made a careful examination, but he seems not to have known of the theft of the bamboos, for he sent a messenger to Amano demanding the immediate capital punishment of the soldiers who had killed the robber; "For," said he, "the unauthorized killing of one of the people of the Shōgun is a crime." But Amano replied, "To kill a thief is according to the law. It is no crime. The soldiers killed him at my command. If it is a crime the guilt is mine." So he protected the guard. But Ide could not let the matter rest and appealed to the Shōgun, who commanded Amano to give up the man. But Amano replied as before, and obeyed not. Then Ieyasu said: "Amano is not a man who will sin; perhaps he is deceived. I'll examine into the affair again by and by," and he sent one of his high officers to Amano. And the officer said, "Even though you are in the right yet will the authority of the Shōgun be weakened if he is not obeyed. Draw lots among the three men and kill the one thus selected." Then Amano replied: "As you urge the weakening of the authority of the Shōgun I must consent. But," he added, "the spirit of the strong samurai does not consent to the killing of the innocent that one's self may be exalted. I may well give up my rank;" and he left his castle and disappeared.

In the time of the next Shōgun, a man in some place or other met an ascetic whom he took to be Amano, but whether rightly or not we do not know. No matter; Amano was truly a pure-hearted samurai. It was not right to slay the innocent and protect one's self. But were he not to kill the soldier he would disobey the Shōgun. Neither course was permissible. So he could not remain in the world, and gave up his income of thirty thousand koku and disappeared forever. That is without a parallel.

YUGE SO AND SO.

But pure-hearted samurai cease not to appear. In Kwan-ei-Shō-hō (A. D. 1624-1647) was a branch temple of Tentokuji, in Shiba, Edo, where always prayers were said without intermission. One day, at evening, as the priest went out of the temple gate he observed a man with a bundle wrapped in oil paper. He seemed a traveller and not a common man. When the priest returned from his errand there was the man still in the gateway. Thinking that strange the priest asked, "Who are you? Come in and rest." "I am listening to the temple prayers," the man replied, "for I like to hear them said. On your invitation I'll go in and have a cup of tea." So in they went and the priest inquired whence he came and whither he journeyed.

The man replied, "From Oshu. I once had a friend in Edo but I cannot find him. So I must find some place." And the priest rejoined, "Stay here to-night, it is so late." So he stayed, and the next day the priest asked him to remain until he should find some occupation. He thanked the priest and remained. It soon appeared that he was an educated man, and the head of Tentokuji called him and helped him and gave him various tasks about the temple, which were all diligently performed. By and by he was made a superintendent of many priests and became a person of importance in the temple.

At that time it happened that a nobleman who had retired from active life was making researches into the history of the past and sought scholarly samurai to help him, paying them good salaries. The people of the temple told him of Yuge and highly recommended him as especially informed about the past. But Yuge thanked the head of the temple when he was informed of it, and said, "I do not intend to enter service again, but your kindness entitles you to know my past." So he told the priest his real name and that he had been a retainer of Gamo Ujisato, and continued :

"Since Gamo was destroyed I have no heart for service under any other and purposed to spend my life as a beggar. With no design on my part I have become a recipient of the blessings of the temple, and now my one desire is to repay what I have received. But I find no means so to do." Then he showed the testimonial Gamo had given him for his services in the battle at Kunohe, and elsewhere, and the letters he had received from many nobles offering him employment. "All are useless now," he said, and put them in the fire.³

So he lived long in the temple. And in the year A. D. 1657, when Tentokuji was burned, Yuge said: "Permit me to help," and worked on after the chief priest and all the other priests had fled, saving the images, furniture and books. When all were safe he sent off the men who had been helping him.

Afterwards in the ruins of the main hall was found the body of a man, sitting with clasped hands like a priest. It was Yuge, and all the temple folk wept and grieved for him. But he had no desire to abide in the temple; he had merely waited for an opportunity to return the favours he had received. At the fire he found the opportunity he sought, and after working to the end purposely perished in the flames. How pure and holy was his heart!

When I was young I heard a story about another samurai. He was a retainer of the late Abe Bungō no Kami, but had given up his position and taken a house in Hachobori, Edo. I have forgotten his name. As the years went by he grew poor until he was in need of food. His landlord took pity on him and sent him food, but he became ill. Then his landlord sent him gruel, but he declined it as too

³ Gamo Ujisato was one of Hideyoshi's famous generals. He was made daimyo of Aizu and aided in the subjugation of the north (Oshu) and among his battles was one at Kunohe. He was accused of seeking independent authority for himself and was poisoned. He was a Christian.

ill to eat. Then he fastened up his door so that no one could enter and his landlord could only stand without and make inquiries. By and by the responses ceased. Then the landlord called the neighbors, broke open the door and went in. Seated on straw matting and leaning against his armour box with his two swords upon his knees, the samurai was dead. By his side was a writing. It expressed his appreciation of his landlord's kindness, with money to pay his rent and for his funeral. His armour was carefully arranged in its box, and with it three gold pieces. His swords were old but had gold ornaments. He had only the clothes he wore and there was not a pot nor any furniture. Nor was there any appearance that he had eaten for an hundred days. The landlord informed the officials, and they told him to carry out the written instructions. When Bungō no Kami heard the circumstance he was greatly grieved. The samurai had been a man of strength and always first when there was some great thing to do. I greatly grieve over his useless death by starvation; and it would be wrong that such a man should remain concealed, unmentioned by any one.

THE TWO BEGGARS.

Nowadays customs are decayed and all men are selfish. But since man's nature is originally good, without regard to family or customs, there are men who know the right even among the beggars.

Ten years ago on the 17th day of the 12th month of the year U, Mitsunoto, of the period Kyōhō, (12th Jan. A.D. 1724) a clerk named Ichijūrō, in the employment of a merchant of Muromachi, Edo, named Echigoya Kichibei, lost a purse containing thirty ryō as he was returning from collecting some accounts. He thought it had been stolen, but returned over his route looking for it carefully. At last a beggar met him and asked, "What have you lost? Is it money?" Overjoyed Ichijūrō told of his loss and the beg-

gar said that he had found the purse and was seeking its owner. So Ichijurō exactly described its contents, money, papers and all, and the beggar gave it back to him. In his joy at the unexpected event Ichijurō offered the beggar five ryō, but the beggar would not take them. "But it was all gone and you returned it! Do take five ryō!" said Ichijurō. But the beggar persisted. "Had I wanted five ryō I should not have returned the thirty. But I did not think it mine when I picked it up. I thought that some one had lost his master's money and would be in trouble. Some men might have kept it, but I found it and desired to give it back. Now as I have returned it my business is at an end." And off he ran as fast as he could go. But Ichijurō took an itchi bu from the purse and followed him crying, "It is cold to-day! Take this for sake." So the beggar took it and said, "I'll drink the sake." And in answer to a question he said, "I am Hachibei, a beggar of Kurumazenshichi."

When Ichijurō went home and told his story his master wept in admiration and determined to give the beggar the five ryō. So on the following morning he sent Ichijurō and his chief clerk to Zenshichi, the beggar's master, to ask him to try and persuade Hachibei to take the money. But Zenshichi said, "The beggar Hachibei got a bu somewhere last night and called his friends together and had a feast of fish and sake. He drank a great deal himself and whether it did not agree with him, he died this morning." Ichijurō was astonished and asked for the body, and asked the man not to send it off or have it buried. So going home Ichijurō told his master, who sent for the corpse and expended the five ryō on a funeral, interring it at Muenji in Hongō. It was certainly wonderful that a merchant should thus be affected by righteousness. He had often been employed by the Lord of Kaga, and on the twentieth of the month Ichijurō went to Kaga Yashiki and told the story to the officials there, and they told it to me.

Hachibei was, I judge, no ordinary man. He had doubtless entered the beggar's guild because poor and homeless. He saw no resource in life, and having fortunately money for a feast for his comrades he thought it a good end and choked himself. Had he been a samurai or in authority he would never have used his power to take that which belonged to others. There are men whose name is splendidly samurai, but who in truth are beggars, but this man who was called a beggar was in truth a samurai.

In Kaga is a place called Nodayama, the burial place of the Maeda family. Their retainers, too, are all buried at the foot of the hill. At the festival of the Bon, candles are put at all the graves and wealthy folk build a miniature house over the grave and put a guard on watch. But for the most part the candles are simply lighted and left to burn themselves out. So bad men come, put out the candles and steal them. A beggar slept there wrapped up in matting. He forbade the thieves to touch the candles, saying, "These offerings at the graves of ancestors are not to be touched." They reviled him, saying, "A beggar has no right to speak!" Then he replied, "True, I am a beggar, for I do not as you." That was very interesting. His words were well chosen and his meaning plain.

As I constantly repeat, in both China and Japan men of fidelity cannot escape suffering. They may even lack sufficient clothes and food, and fall in field or stream unnoticed by the world. What is more lamentable? Surely it is our duty to reveal such hidden righteousness. There are many like Yuge, the beggar Hachibei, and this beggar in Kaga. Yet I cannot help those of whom I do not hear; but if I hear I cannot forbear to speak.

Of old when the emperor commanded that books of poetry be made, the names of dancing girls and priests appeared with the names of nobles and even of the emperor himself. That is one of the merits of our Japanese poetry, for poetry knows no distinction of rank. So does my talk

of fidelity bring in samurai of distinguished families with dancing girls and beggars. Fidelity knows no distinction of high and low. This is its virtue.

All present agreed with this opinion of the Old Man.

BOOK IV. WISDOM.

DARK IS THE FOOT OF THE CANDLESTICK.

When the dog days were half gone, some friends came to the Old Man's cottage on Suruga Dai to enjoy its coolness. The daily rain had ceased and the setting sun still lingered in the western trees. Cool the drops hung on tree and bamboo, and sweet was the odor of the lotus in the pond. The guests could not leave the scene, but stood on the balcony, and taking hold of its rail recited poetry, until at last in the gathering darkness white had melted into black. Then they went within and began to say farewell. But the Old Man urged them to remain and, consenting to pass the evening with him in talk, all sat down. As the lights were brought the Old Man had a thought, and pointing to the candles said, "Expound the proverb, 'Dark is the Foot of the Candlestick'."

So one took up the theme and said:—"That which everywhere is spoken of is not known at home. We foolish men explain it thus and Mencius sets forth the reason, 'The Way that is near men seek afar off';¹ they are forgetful of the beginning and seek the end, as the archer looks at the distant mark". Then another continued:—"The verse of the nun Godo in works of the Radaikyō² is an interesting illustration of the theme;—'Seeking spring all day we see

¹ Book IV, Part I, Chapter XI.

² A Buddhist priest said to be of India (?).

it not. The haze rests on the sandal-prints along the ridges of the rice fields. Returning laughingly we pick a blossom of the plum and as we smell it, lo! behold! all the spring is present in the twig! This is equally true of other things besides the 'Way.' In the time of To-shiu³ Kanon attacked Sanshin, and when Ōmō came forth to meet him cried, 'Why do not the heroes of Sanshin come forth?' So dark were his eyes since no hero of them all excelled Ōmō. Not to know the hero before one's eyes but to ask the hero for heroes, surely that excellently sets forth our proverb. So has it ever been in China and Japan! Great generals have sought distant enterprises and their renown has gone abroad even to the land of their enemies, yet have the enemies at home, within the hedge, remained unknown; so did Oda Nobunaga conquer east and west and yet, so dark was it close at hand, was slain by Akechi."⁴

Then the Old Man spoke:—You have completely taught the meaning of the proverb as to the attainment of righteousness, but you have used this darkness near at hand in a bad sense. I would use it also in illustration of the good. There is this further meaning in it. As the short poem of Kantaishi has it,—'Vain is the candlestick eight feet long. The short one two feet long is victor in giving light.' For it is dark below the long and light below the short candlestick, so as we wish to read and need a light close at hand we honour the short one, a foot or two in length. But it fails to illuminate the room and is useless in the great apartment filled with guests. So then, those which brighten the distance are dark close at hand. If from the darkness we see the light, it is all clear to our eyes; but if from the light we seek to penetrate the darkness, we can see it not. Thus to see the light from the darkness is to hide deeply and cherish profoundly one's own wisdom. Then if light shines

³ The Eastern Tsin, A. D. 317-419.

⁴ Rein's Japan, pp. 269-270.

out from such darkness it is naturally strong and clear and reaches to a distance. This is true light. But when proud of intellect we labour with celerity and clearness to illuminate that which is close at hand, we look at the darkness from the light. Such light is weak, confined and superficial. It does not reach to the distance and merely illuminates our fingers ends. So we are like the unskilled go-player: we cannot see the end, and mistake at every move.

In China and Japan men of great and clear wisdom have been modest and unwilling to use their gifts. So says Laotz:⁶—"The wise merchant keeps his treasure out of sight and the wisdom of the wise seems folly." Not long ago Itakura Suwo no Kami was judge in Kyōto. His quick intelligence revealed itself in his face, and men were disconcerted as they saw his heart, so that neither prosecutor nor accused could fully state his case. So when Itakura heard a cause he shut himself behind screens, ground tea and was as if he heard not. Now he is famous. When reasons good and bad were stated, he was as a god in decisions and none failed to obey his words. Even yet there are countless stories of him, and among them all I like this one best: Once as he passed through a country district a child cried out, "There goes Suwo." As he heard the shout he said, "No one any where in the capital or provinces, child or adult, man or woman, does not know that I am the Shōgun's representative in Kyōto. No one calls me Suwo. But this child repeats what he has learned. The people of the house must hate me, and therefore call me Suwo." So he asked who lived within, and the following day summoned the master of the house and inquired, "Has any cause of yours been judged by me? Do not be alarmed. Tell me the facts?" After many excuses, as he could not get off, the man finally replied;—"In such a month and year a

⁶ In his reputed conversation with Confucius. Chinese Classics Vol. I: Prolegomena, p. 65.

relative and I quarrelled about the division of my father's property. He was in the wrong but hired many false witnesses and gained his suit," and the man stated the particulars. So Lord Suwo told his men to examine the records and it was as the man had said. So the case was again reviewed and finally Itakura said, "The decision was wrong. But it is long past and cannot now be reversed. I'll pay you for your loss and apologize for my error." So he gave the man his money.

As the candlestick is long its base is dark, but its light shines far. So is the "Way" of the superior man dark indeed but grows daily bright. If the candlestick is short the base is bright, but the light goes but a little way. So is the "way" of the little man destroyed day by day. But your explanation is the true one; this of mine is apart. I have dwelt too long on this subject thoughtlessly, said the Old Man with a laugh. But the guests replied, "It is wonderful what meaning you can find even in a theme like this."

LAWS ARE LIKE A RIVER.

When the moon is full it wanes and the flower in full bloom scatters. We dislike the putting forth of full strength by anything. Seven or eight tenths of our strength should be used and the rest reserved. Should all be used, regret follows fast. Not wholly should a superior man give himself to joy nor to friendship without reserve. To accept hospitality too freely becomes rudeness and to become too intimate is to give offence. And the same principle holds with the government, as the vulgar saying is, "The government of the land must be like the stick that stirs the rice in the box, it stops not at the corners"; and where it does not reach is the place of freedom. So the Book of Changes teaches us that when the king hunts the animals are surrounded on three sides, that one side may be left open for their escape. There has never been a time when there were

not concubines and favourites, nor any country without evil men. Yet do the good win. Let ruler and ruled, high and low, show mercy and loyalty, then shall the foundations of the state be strengthened.

And thus it is that the ancient rulers exalt intelligence but do not praise acuteness. The two are alike and yet differ. Intelligence is the candle that illuminates the room, and though the foot is dark the room is bright. Acuteness is like a lantern, excellent for finding things just at hand but useless at a distance. The virtue of the ruler is like the candle and not like the lantern.

The Imperial laws are lenient and broad, like the river; they are not narrow and small like canals. And just because the river is so big and well known it is easily avoided; so deep and broad is it that it cannot be despised nor readily injured. But canals are many and small, narrow, difficult to avoid and easily injured. No one steps into the river by mistake, but constantly men slip into the canals. Still the government must not be mere leniency. Many details confuse the laws and make them cruel and hated, yet must they be severe according to times and circumstances. In times of perfect peace men float in lazy pleasure, and desiring luxury, security is thought most important of all, then with ease ancient evils cannot be escaped. Reform the government, increase the severity of the laws and make new the people's eyes and ears. The people rejoice at the accomplishment of the task: they cannot aid in its inception. They are foolish and look not to the good or evil of the state but only to their own. They are fault-finding and fertile in arguments.

When Shishan ruled Tei he strenuously reformed the evil customs, forbade extravagance in dress and equipage and made rules for the dwellings of the people. The rich in fear hid away their clothes and the landlords gave their possessions to the government, which redistributed them to their people. So the people sang,—“ We hide our hats

and clothes. Our lands are taken and divided. We will not blame him who kills Shishan." But in a short three years extravagance had ceased and riot and crime had disappeared and then the people sang, "Let Shishan teach our brothers and children; Shishan increases our fields; should Shishan die who could take his place?" And Confucius said,—“Shishan is a superior man.”⁶ So the government loves and cherishes the people with leniency and severity. When lenient, the people grow selfish, and with severity comes reform. When severe, the people are harmed and then leniency must be invoked. Severity repairs the harm wrought by leniency, and leniency heals the wounds of severity. Thus is the government successful. As Confucius said, “Neither should be used by itself.”

So the state reforms evils great and small and for the rest, ancient precedent should be followed unchanged. The carpenter may indeed forsake the traditions of his craft and form new methods for himself, but how narrow will be his rules and how poor his workmanship. With much pains and great thought he accomplishes nothing. In everything it is easy to follow precedent and difficult to invent new ways. There are ever men ready to show their ability in inventions; and though they may find something of value one time out of ten, yet will it even prove only of immediate use, and not of value in the future. They see that which is easy only and not the many difficulties. Treasure and strength are wasted in the end. Especially should the good laws of our ancestors and the tried institutions of the past be untouched. They are familiar to eyes and ears, and to be changed only at the risk of losing the people's hearts.

But the rule is not absolute. Some laws were es-

⁶ Shishan (Kung-sun K'iao) was chief minister of Cheng when lawlessness and disorder prevailed. When he had reigned three years the doors were not locked at night and lost articles were not picked up on the highway. Mayers, p. 221, *Analects*, Book V, Chap. XV.

tablished to meet peculiar needs. Such should not be continued but should be reformed. Otherwise society is harmed and government impeded in the name of the past. To reform such evils is really to fulfil the purpose of our ancestors. Not otherwise did they desire that government should be carried on and long for filial sons and grandsons.

As thus the Old Man set forth his argument with instances ancient and modern, the short summer night showed the coming dawn; the guests said farewell and took their leave.

TSURE-DZURE GUSA.

On another occasion when guests came to see the Old Man a copy of the *Tsure-dzure Gusa*⁷ was seen by his side and he was asked, Do you like the Book? Kenko was witty and used language well in the description of emotions and scenery. "No," was the reply; "I only read it as a pastime to the children, while I am ill. I do not really like it." "Do you not agree to the general opinion," asked another guest, "that Kenko was a wise man?" And the Old Man replied,—Men who forsake the world fancy Kenko; men who like him care neither for fame nor gain. But I am not so sure of that. The *Taiheiki* says that he wrote a lustful letter for Ko no Moronawo; and the *Entairiaku* says that when he accepted the invitation of Iga no Kami, Tachibana no Naritada, and went to Iga he committed adultery with Naritada's daughter. Some of his poems were written at that time. So we see that he flattered the world and was lustful. He talked of deserting the world and despising fame and gain, but he lacked the firm purpose of the man who really deserts the world. He followed Buddhism; and so

⁷ Kenko was an official who became a priest on the death of his Imperial master. Kenko died A. D. 1350. A translation of the *Tsure-dzure Gusa* may be found in *The Chrysanthemum*, Vol. III, by the Rev. C. S. Eby.

there are poems of lust and sin mingled with his talk of forsaking the world. Manifestly he was not a wise man.

Besides a few works on history like the *Sankyō Ega Monogatari* which record facts there are no books worth reading in our literature. For the most part they are sweet stories of the Buddhas of which we soon weary. But the evil is traditional, long continued and beyond remedy. And other books are full of lust, not to be even mentioned, like the *Genji Monogatari*,^a which should never be shown to a woman or a young man. Such books lead to vice. Our nobles call the *Genji Monogatari* a national treasure, why I do not know, unless it is that they are intoxicated with its style. That is like plucking the spring blossom unmindful of autumn's fruit. The book is full of adulteries from beginning to end. Seeing the right ourselves become good, seeing the wrong we should reprove ourselves. The *Genji Monogatari*, *Chōkonka* and *Seishōki* are of a class,—vile, mean, comparable to the books of the sages as charcoal to ice, as the stench of decay to the perfume of flowers.

Long has Buddhism made Japan think of nothing as important except the worship of the Buddha. So it is that evil customs prevail and there is no one who does not find pleasure in lust. And the story books are full of the same things. Other writings contain for the most part low wit and vile lies, without a virtue. They are altogether worse than the *Tsurezure Gusa*. Take out the lust and Buddhism from that book, and scenery and the emotions are well described. There is a good deal that is silly, yet there is also reason and principles. Had he been learned in the "Way" of the sages he had not fallen into Buddhism. And moreover

^a The *Genji Monogatari* was written in the year A. D. 1004, "Things Japanese," p. 269. It quite deserves the sharp judgment here given. The first part has been translated into English by Suyematsu Kenchō. The *Chōkonka* and *Seishōki* are Chinese books.

he sinned through lust, so that his filthy name remains. Alas! Thus should we learn how dangerous are man's lusts.

THE DAIBUTSU PENCE.

What I ever hate is the conduct of Shigehira. It was not a disgrace that he was captured by the enemy, but while imprisoned at Kamakura he went into the drinking hall and had all sorts of talk with the dancing girls. When he was sent to Nara he asked his guardes to send him his beloved concubine. Surely these are things not to be done by a man! It was most miserable, but he felt no shame. But on the other hand he felt he had committed a great crime, and was in great fear because in obedience to his father he had burned the Dai Butsu at Nara! At Kamakura he confessed this and sought the forgiveness of Yoritomo; and again, when at Kyōto he met the priest Honen he mourned over it. Such repentance shows a heart dark beyond all help.⁹

Later on Matsunaga Danjo also burned the Nara Dai Butsu, and so strong a man as Nobunaga thought it a great crime. So when Danjo killed his lord Miyoshi Yoshinaga, and the Shōgun Nobunaga put these crimes together to his shame. How can Buddhism thus deceive the heart of man?⁹

But in the period Kambun (A.D. 1661-1673) Matsudaira Idzu no Kami Nobutsuna was in power and broke up the metal of the Nara images which had been honoured for a thousand years and turned Dai Butsu into pence, a great profit to the empire quite unparalleled. His strong wisdom was unique. With the advance of civilization since the estab-

⁹ Shigehira was a Taira Kuge. Honen was the instructor of the founder of the Hon-gwan-ji sect Shinran Shonin. Danjo became Nobunaga's follower, after he had committed these crimes.

lishment of the Tokugawa rule such men frequently appear. Should men like Shigehira hear of such deeds they would die of astonishment. All of Idzu no Kami's Government was good, but three things are preëminent: his forbidding retainers to die with their lords, his stopping the custom of sending hostages to the Shōgun and his conversion of the Dai Butsu into pence. By the first, an evil to future generations was prevented; by the second, sorrow was averted in all the provinces; and by the third a great error was corrected, an inheritance for future ages.

There were many such men in power, and their blessing comes to us in this continued peace. But Idzu no Kami was first among them all. He was sent to fight at Amakusa,¹⁰ and after his victory he returned to Edo and went in to see the Shōgun just as he was in travelling array. As he entered, all congratulated him; and in the ante-room was Shinzaemon, to whom Idzu no Kami remarked as he passed through, "I have something to say to you when I return." So when he returned from his audience in the midst of a great crowd he said to Shinzaemon, "It was determined that the great bell at my headquarters should give the signal for the gathering of the daimyō for the attack. But I thought to myself, 'Suppose some fool or some rebel should strike the bell to-night!' so I had the beam taken away and brought to my side. But then I thought 'the bell can still be struck by something else,' so I had it wholly taken down and wrapped in a bag. As it turned out the rebels began the fight unexpectedly, and there was not time to get off the bags and hang the bell; so we were obliged to fight and whip them without its aid. Then I remembered your words, 'Be not over careful,' and thought this an excellent illustration." Though it was said in jest, yet he had not forgotten the word. An ordinary man would have had no thought at such a time for this. But Idzu no Kami showed the greatness of his heart by telling his mistake before them

¹⁰ Amakusa,—the war against the Christians. Rein. p. 308.

all. That is true wisdom. But men who desire authority and outward ornament are indeed very low, like frogs in a well.

YASUTOKI'S UNSELFISHNESS.

From the beginning of the Kamakura regime Hōjō Yasutoki was the best of all the men of these times.¹¹ Few can be compared with him. He once said to Miao of Togano, "I am unequal to this great task of Government. How shall I cause strife to cease among the people?" Miao replied, "Be unselfish." "But," said Yasutoki, "will the people be unselfish too if I am so?" And the priest replied, "No matter about the people! Try it and see!" So Yasutoki believed him, and when his father Yoshitoki died, gave the inheritance to his younger brother and kept just enough for his needs. His mother remonstrated with him, saying, "You have not kept enough;" he replied, "I inherit the government. I have enough. I wish my brothers to be rich." She greatly admired him, and as time passed all of his relatives came to be on the best of terms and all Kamakura admiringly followed their example. Miao was a priest, but his words agree with the reply that Confucius made to Kikoshi,—“If you covet not they will steal though theft be praised.”¹² And the government of Yasutoki shows that the words of the Sage are true.

While Yasutoki was in power he went every day to the office and laboured hard all day. He had a patient regard for the chief officials and was wise and impartial in his judgments, as is related in the Adzuma Kagami. Long ago

¹¹ The Hōjō family succeeded Yoritomo as the real rulers of Japan. They were the Regents of Kamakura, ruling in the name of the "Puppet Shōgun" for 120 years. "Takatoki, the last of the line, became Regent at the age of nine." The Hōjō family was overthrown by Ashikaga Taka-uji and Nitta Yoshisada, A. D. 1334. Satow and Hawes's "Handbook," pp. 54-55.

¹² Kikoshi was troubled by the many thieves in his dominions. *Analests XII: XVIII.*

an old scholar told me this story of him: One day when hearing a case, while accuser and accused were face to face, the accuser suddenly said, "I had thought my cause good and so entered complaint. Now I see my error and will not add a word." There he stopped and Yasutoki in great admiration said, "You are beaten in your case but you are victorious in reason. I have heard many cases, but never before have I seen a man thus yield to reason. If I do not reward you whom shall I reward?" So he gave him a very special reward.

So it was that quarrels gradually ceased and the judges had leisure. I have forgotten in what monogatari this is, but it illustrates Yasutoki's justice, benevolence and truth. His work benefited his son and extended to future generations as they imitated his virtue and accepted what he had accomplished. Thus it was that Kamakura won the affections of the people.

Men think Tokiyori wiser, but I do not agree. He soon gave up his high rank, became a priest, liked quiet walks and thus saw the condition of the people. That seems admirable to those who do not know reason. He should not have deserted his post for the sake of the quiet of a temple. A born ruler should not thus injure virtue and lose the Government. His plan was petty, and "dark at a distance." Neither he nor any other at Kamakura at all equalled Yasutoki. When the Hōjō rule began, many men of parts gathered at Kamakura, but they were men of mere strength and bravery, without knowledge or wisdom. Shigetada is preëminent among them, for when falsely accused he refused to take an oath, saying, "I have never lied, and why should I take an oath?" So Yoritomo forgave him, but he was killed by the Hōjō and died most purely. The crimes of Tokimasa and Yoshitoki were against both men and Heaven and death were an insufficient punishment. Were it not for Yasutoki the Hojo had been destroyed before the time of Takatoki.

VOLUME V. SINCERITY.

THE MOON THE MEMENTO OF THE GENERATIONS.

When the year was more than half gone and the autumn scenery was come, the cool wind piercing the body, after long absence the friends gathered again at the house of the Old Man. They made the customary inquiries and were taking leave when he stopped them saying,—“The moon is very fine to-night. Do not go. Stop awhile and have some wine.” So obediently they all sat down. And as the talk went on the people of the house set out food and wine, and the guests soon felt the influence of the wine and became interesting. One with his cup in his hand recited a verse of Rihaku¹ in praise of the moon, another capped it, and a third continued and a fourth, and last of all the Old Man ;—“The men of to-day see not the moon of long ago : The moon of to-day shines not upon the men of long ago : The men of to-day and the men of long ago, Are like the flowing water. All are alike as they see the moon, With verse and wine their one desire is that, The Moon shine long upon the metal cask ;” so he made an end of it. But the drinking went on, and as they drank still more until the mountains seemed to fall, the Old Man continued :

You all unite in praising the moon in verse and my heart is comforted as I see it. An emotion that ceases not arises, for the moon is the comfort of old age. I have many thoughts, and will give you one of them. When a child I was once sitting alone in the corner at the wine drinking on the fifteenth of the eighth month when a samurai, who was wholly illiterate, looked long at the moon and asked,—“How wide

¹ Rihaku, a famous poet of the Tō dynasty in China.

is it?" Then another like him said, "It is cut off from something. How deep is it?" All who heard it ate their tongues, and even as a child I thought it absurd. But really, are most men so different, as they praise the moon for its clear light and love its pure reflection and meet together to eat, drink and sing? And the poets ornament their verses as they see the moon and labour over their form, and yet after all, aesthetic as it all seems, they are merely amused with the appearance of the moon and know not its profound "feeling."

What I said of "the emotion that ceases not" refers to the love of the ancients, the study of their books as we know their hearts and the pain of separation from the world. It is the moon which lights generation after generation and now too shines in the sky. So may we call it the Memento of the Generations. As we look upon it and think of the things of old, we seem to see the reflection of the forms and faces of the past. Though the moon says not a word, yet it speaks. If we have forgotten, then it recalls the ages gone by. This verse of Rihaku is the best of all the poetry about the moon, for it lets the mere appearance go and unites past and present in one spirit, all "Are like the flowing water." Yet there is something wanting, for it does not speak of waiting for the coming age, and this is supplied in the ancient writing called So,—

"The men who are gone come not to me

The men of the future hear me not,"

and as I read it my admiration knows no bounds. For this is Kushi's² thought: "No one knows me, none of my own generation; and the men of the past who were one in heart with me, with whom I would speak, are beyond my reach; and the men of the coming age who will be of like

² Kushi, the author of the couplet, (Ku Yuan) was a minister who committed suicide, about B. C. 314. Mayers, p. 107.

spirit, hear me not and know me not." So is it with every one who has a heart: it is not Kushi only who thus laments. I too see the moon with such a spirit and mourn. The present is the past to the future, and in that age some one like me will grieve as he looks upon the moon.

TO FORSAKE THE WORLD BUT NOT ONE'S SELF.

When the celebrated priest Saigyō went on pilgrimage through the east he came to Kamakura and went with others to Tsurugaoka. There Yoritomo noticed the superiority of his company and called him to his house, asked him of horsemanship, archery and poetry. Without fear of the splendour of Yoritomo or of the presence of his famous followers, Saigyō freely uttered his opinions. Yoritomo greatly admired him, but was unable to detain him or give him anything except a silver cat, and this Saigyō threw to the children in the street as he went away. Nor was it known whither he went.

There was, at that time, a very bad priest at Takao named Bungaku. He was very proud of his power, which was given him at Kamakura, and he hated Saigyō's character and said, "If I meet him I'll insult him to his face." Once Saigyō came to Takao and Bungaku asked him to spend the night with him, full of joy at the opportunity. He said to his followers, "See! When he comes I'll strike him!" and waited with clenched fist. All were in troubled suspense, but when Saigyō came Bungaku's courage failed and he greeted him respectfully. So, afterwards, the followers said to Bungaku, "Why did you not strike Saigyō?" But Bungaku replied, "See the spirit of his face! He should strike me!" How apparent was Saigyō's high pure character and wonderful spirit! Our only grief is that Confucianism was not yet made known to the world and so even such a man knew not the truth. With a clear pure character, he disliked the ways of the world and became a priest. Truly that was lamentable!

To forsake parent and lord that one may save himself by becoming a priest is indeed to forsake the world; but instead of parent and lord it is not to forsake one's self. Unless we forsake our self we forsake not the world. The desire for fame and gain in the world, and the forsaking of the world in the hope of paradise, these differ as the pure and the impure, yet both alike are from the desire for one's own happiness. Buddhism regards our human relationships as "borrowed" and so teaches that parent and lord may be forsaken. Not so! If we are to desert anything, first cast away reputation, gain and pleasure! Then there will be no need to flee the world. But in the celebrated doctrine there is place for natural pleasure. It is not necessary to forsake the human relationships or anything. But to forsake these through the desire for paradise is a shameful exhibition of the craving for happiness.

There was once a woman who was ready to die of grief because of the death of her husband, and she refused to be comforted. But the priest reproved her: "You may well love your husband; Buddhism does not interfere with that, for it is most natural. But separated from him, with the marriage tie cut, in loneliness and for yourself to grieve, that is selfishness. It is a great increase of guilt. Consider this doctrine as you weep." So she repented and stopped her grief. It was wise advice, but the priest did not consider how it applied to himself. From of old all, high and low, men and women, who have clung to Buddhism have found the sole origin for faith in regard for their own happiness. Even the wise among them have not the wisdom of this woman. How have countless generations wasted their precious bodies! And the future too will show like waste! My grief I have put into this verse:

"For an hundred generations the universe flows on;
Literature and the 'Way' are now destroyed, Our
thoughts are sad; Who knows? Above the heavens just the
one round moon, Long shines upon the lasting grief of man.

The Way of truth is cast away! With whom then shall I speak? False principles and new heresies come forth day by day; The clear moon knows the grief of a thousand generations, And kindly shines upon the old white head."

The guests together repeated the verse, and just then the moon sank in the west and the morning broke; and all went home.

ECONOMY.

To the samurai first of all is righteousness, next life, then silver and gold. These last are of value, but some put them in the place of righteousness! But to the samurai even life is as dirt compared to righteousness.

Until the middle part of the middle ages customs were comparatively pure though not really righteous. Corruption has come only during this period of government by the samurai. A maid servant in China was made ill with astonishment and fled home in dismay when she saw her mistress, soroban in hand, arguing prices and values. So was it once with the samurai. They knew nothing of trade, were economical and content.

An old man told me this story of Hine Bichu no Kami. When he went to Korea he borrowed money for his expenses and on his return sent to return it. His creditor, Kuroda Josui, directed the servants to take off the flesh from some tai which had been sent in as a present and to make soup of the bones for his guests. As this severe economy was observed, the guests were filled with apprehension as to the probable demand for high interest on the loan. But after the wine when they offered to make payment Kuroda Josui would not take the principal. He was economical beyond expression, even with his fish that had been given him, even in the feasting of his friends, but did not hesitate to give an hundred silver pieces when his friend had need. That is an

admirable illustration of the character of the samurai of those days, simple and economical, yet unforgetful of righteousness and strong of heart.

Even in the days of my youth young folks never mentioned the price of any thing; and their faces reddened if the talk was of women. Their joy was in talk of battles and of plans for war. And they studied how parents and lords should be obeyed and the duty of samurai. But nowadays the young men talk of loss and gain, of dancing girls and harlots and gross pleasures. It is a complete change from the customs of fifty or sixty years ago. In those days I had a friend Kurando, whose father was a Kaga samurai named Aochi Unimi. Aochi said to his son, "There is such a thing as trade. See that you know nothing of it. In trade the profit should always be on the other side. It differs from 'go' in that if we win there is no peace in the victory." But now, men greatly rejoice if they make a profit by exchange. To be proud of buying high priced articles cheap is the good fortune of merchants, but should be unknown to samurai. Let it not be even so much as mentioned. I remember the remarks of Arai Chikugo no Kami some years ago:—Call no man stingy. If one is stingy of money still more will he be stingy of life. Stinginess is another name for cowardice." So he spoke as he expounded the books before the Shōgun. It is the truth. And samurai must have a care of their words and are not to speak of avarice, cowardice or lust.

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Nor must we waste our time. "Strength comes not twice. A day is not twice to-morrow. At the time for labour we must toil. Years and months wait not for man." Born with a love for learning, let us not think that the age is without virtue and the future without reputation, and that we perish as the trees and grass. Strive diligently every-day. There was a Kaga man who was fond of the aestheti-

cism of Rikiyu³ and practiced the tea ceremonies assiduously. When ordered to Edo he took his outfit with him and even in the inns hung up his kettle and made his tea. His associates remonstrated,—“Much as you like your tea, do take a vacation while en route.” But he replied,—“A day en route is no other; it too is one of the days of my life! So it is not a day for omitting my ceremonious tea.” He made no difference nor stopped a day.

So must scholars set their purpose on the “Way.” It is not to be forsaken at all, and there is in all the life no day that is not for its practice. Going or coming, there is no place without it. We should not be in haste, lest we soon give it up. Not in haste and not in sloth must we ever pursue the “Way.”

A WORD FOR THE OPENING YEAR. CONCLUSION.

Swiftly the days and months pass by. Day by day increases the disease, old age, and labour is of no avail. It is the seventy-fifth year, and not so long had the Old Man hoped to live with the billows of old age rolling on. He was paralyzed too, so that hand and foot were not easily moved and with difficulty could he get up or down. For three years the spring beauty of the garden had not been seen, but the voice of the uguisu from the tree-top came to his bed awakening him from his lingering dreams. Patiently did he remember the past as the perfume of the plum blossoms visited his pillow.

How blessed was he then that from his youth he had seen through the windows of philosophy the value of the passing years; that he had followed Tei-Shu and sought the manners of the Sages; that he had admired the literary style of Kantaishi and Oyōshu⁴ and had learned haltingly to walk the “Way.” What consolation was this for his aged

³ “The Chrysanthemum,” Vol., II., No. 5, pp. 198-200.

⁴ Oyōshu, Ou-Yang Siu, celebrated among the foremost scholars and statesmen of the Sung dynasty. d. 1017 A. D. Mayers, p. 165.

wakefulness! Through so many months and years well had he considered the passing, changing world, with its alternating adversity and prosperity, its bloom and decay. Are they all dreams and visions, "the clouds that float above the earth"? Fortune and misfortune are twisted together like the strands of a rope.

Among it all only the "Way" of the Sages stands with Heaven and Earth. Past and present it only changes not. Men should wonder at it and praise. But the world knows it not. Men are in darkness as to righteousness, though wise in gain and lust. The "Way" is forsaken and customs deteriorate. Alas! Alas! but my low rank and feeble powers could not reform the customs or restore the doctrine; as well might a gnat move a tree or one dip out the ocean with a shell. Yet is it our duty as scholars to grieve over the world and reform the people. We cannot give this task to others. Why should aged teachers and men who are accounted scholars desire false doctrines, mix them with the truth and thus transform the "Way" of righteousness and virtue?

I cannot agree to that. They work and argue, please the vulgar and go with the times. Deplorable! As has been said of old,—*"A corrupt learning that flatters the world."* Let it be so! Let customs change! I alone will follow the "way" of benevolence and righteousness nor lose the pattern I have learned! This is the sign of the scholar who honours the "Way." In the New Year when men bless themselves with good wishes for a thousand worlds, I will set my heart on the "Way" of the five virtues only and will change not. This I think the rightful cause for congratulations. So I write,—

This spring too I go unchanged

Five times more than seventy seeking the "Way."

This year I have been busy, from spring to autumn, collecting and writing my various talks with my disciples. I finished it in the autumn, and though it is as worthless as the refuse gathered by fishermen, yet if transmitted

to our company it may be one-ten-thousandth help to those who study themselves. So at the end I wrote my New Year's verse, ending yet beginning, and thus reveal an endless heart.

Kyō-hō Jin-shi no Toshi, Fuyu Jūgatsu (Winter, December 1729). (signed) Kyūsō.

NOTE ON JAPANESE SCHOOLS OF PHILOSOPHY.

BY T. HAGA.

[Read 9th March, 1892.]

In the introduction to his paper, entitled *A Japanese Philosopher*, and read before the Society, January 20th, Dr. Knox states that with the exception of a small school which follows Ōyōmei, Japanese Philosophy is that of Shushi. The correctness of this view of the matter is quite inadmissible. Of the opponents of the Tei-Shu philosophy I will mention a few, just as they come to mind: Jinsai, Sorai, Tōgai, Shuntai, Kinjō, Riken, Nammei. I cannot remember them all. In the writings of these men he will find the fundamental ideas, *sei*, *jīn*, and *michi* (way), to be different from those held by Shushi.

Of the four writers selected by Dr. Knox as followers of the orthodox philosophy in this country, only the first and last can be said to belong to it, and of these the first is certainly not one of its best representatives. Hakuseki, like Kyusō, the subject of Dr. Knox's paper, was a pupil of Kinoshita Junnan, whose views, though they inclined him to the Teishu school, were still quite liberal and somewhat affected by the older learning, and Hakuseki became even more liberal than his master.

Yamazaki Ansai was indeed an 'orthodoxist,' narrow-minded and violent in his opposition to those who did not accept Shushi's doctrines.

The other two names in Dr. Knox's list, have just been mentioned by me as among the opponents of the 'orthodox' philosophy, and so far were they from adopting Shushi's views, that they became the founders of the *Kogaku* school, or school of Ancient Learning. Jinsai was the first who systematically opposed the teaching of the Teishu school. His followers, including his distinguished son, Tōgai, exercised great influence. Sorai came a little later, and was equally opposed to Shushi, whom he wrote against very strongly and described as being a Buddhist. He spoke of Shurenki, Teishi, Shushi, and others as founders of the *ri* school, *rigakusha*, and also referred to them as *Sō-ju* (*So* dynasty school men). His particular school surpassed that of Jinsai in the production of well-known men, Shuntai, Nankwaku, and many others.

It would be a task beyond my powers to discuss fully and clearly the philosophy of the Teishu, Ōyōmei, and other schools. Indeed, it seems impossible to find English words at all equivalent to many of those in use in Chinese and Japanese philosophy. A word which to some degree seems to suit in one case, is found to be wrong when fitted to another. I can therefore only attempt to indicate some of the radical differences between the Teishu and Kogaku Schools, the latter as represented by Jinsai and Sorai, although these two differ among themselves.

Throughout the philosophy of Shushi there are the conceptions *ri* and *ki*. They are themselves self-existences, and are concerned in the formation of all things and are present in all things. It may perhaps be nearly correct to say that *ri* is the source of law and order, and *ki* is the source of natural existence. *Ri* we are told is the perfection of Heaven. It is in inanimate things as well as in man, and pervades all space. *Ki*, from its twofold character, is also called *in-yo*, and from its fivefold character, *go-gyō*. The conception of *in* and *yo* is that of duality, involving complementary or equivalent opposition of parts of one thing. It

may be, and has been, compared with many states of such opposition between similars, and among others therefore, with opposition of sex, but this has been brought out more strongly in translations than it usually exists in the original. Association of *positive* and *negative* (*polarity*), as used so largely in certain sciences, is all that is meant by *in-yo*. As *go-gyō*, the five divisions of *ki* are manifested in the categories, *wood, fire, earth, metal, water*.

Animals and things get only portions of *ri*, but man receives *ri* in full amount, and this becomes in him, *sei*, his real nature. He has thus within him the perfect mirror of Heaven and perfect understanding. There is no difference in this respect between a *seijin* or a perfect man and an ordinary person. To both, *ri* is given uniformly. But *ki*, from which is derived his form and material existence, and which constitutes his *kishitsu*, is different in quality in different men, and is sometimes clear and sometimes dull. He has thus a certain capacity due to *ki* or *kishitsu*, such as being intelligent or stupid, weak or strong; this is called *kirin*. *Sei* or man's real nature, although originally *ri* itself when it comes to reside in man, that is, in his *kishitsu*, becomes affected or modified by his *kirin*, or capacity through *ki*. Thus a second nature is formed out of *ri* or the original *sei*, modified or affected by *kishitsu*, and this second nature is called *kishitsu no sei*. He has thus his second nature called *kishitsu no sei* through which he acts well or ill. When a man does evil, that is the result of his *kirin* covering or interfering with *sei*, his original nature, and this action of his *kirin* is called *kishitsu no hei* (cover) or *kirin no kaka-wari* (interference or hindrance by *kirin* with the original *sei*, *honnen no sei*, or *tenchi no sei*). By this interference of *kirin*, *sei* or the original nature of man becomes clouded, as a mirror. Remove this corruption (*kishitsu no hei*) and the *honnen no sei* recovers its brightness, and man is perfect and can understand all nature.

Thus it will be seen that although the Teishu school

divide *sei* into *kishitsu no sei* and *hannen no sei*, these are both originally from *ri*, and this division can not be logically maintained in detailed application.

In this school, *sei*, fundamental nature of man, is *ri* itself, and in it the *ri* of benevolence, righteousness, etc.,—*jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, are naturally found. *Ri*, *sei*, and *michi*, ('way') are the same entity in different aspects, and it is called *ri* when spoken of as the order or law which pervades the universe, and *michi* ('way') when looked on as what man and all things must pursue. *Jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi* are natural functions or parts of *sei*. Benevolence, righteousness, propriety of conduct, understanding, are not themselves *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, but the *ri* underlying them. When benevolence is felt, that is what is called *yo*, the application of *jin*; while something prior to this feeling, when there is nothing yet felt, is called *tai*, the substance of *jin*. This is already natural to *sei*. Benevolence manifested in action is called the *hodokoshi* of *jin*.

Notwithstanding the distinctness marked out between *sei* (*ri*) and *ki*, the Teishu school make use, when explaining the *Ancient Classics*, of the term *kishitsu no sei* for the nature of man, *sei*, as affected by *ki*; and have then to use the phrase, *hannen no sei*, to express the pure fundamental nature of man. Again, we are told we cannot rightly discuss the *sei* of man without reference to the *ki*, nor the *ki* of man without reference to the *sei*. Now let us see how Jinsai handles these points.

Jinsai and his school say with the ancient writers that *ki* constitutes all things, somewhat in the same way that in Western philosophy matter is said to constitute all (material) things. But they deny that there is anything, any self-existence or entity, such as the *sei* of the Teishu school. All that led Shushi to invent the notion of the existence of *sei* is nothing but the manifested nature of things, their dispositions, powers, qualities, actions, and all that go to constitute their existence. Jinsai makes use of the term

ri, but only with its common signification of reason. The *sei* or fundamental nature of man does not differ much from that of animals, and only in possessing the germ of goodness along with healthy tendencies or impulses. With Jinsai, *sei* being merely a name for man's nature, *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, become merely names for the several phases of conduct based on the possession of a good disposition—not for something self-existent, and already present before the mind feels its bent. When Mencius said man's fundamental nature (*sei*) is good, he meant no more than that it is his nature to be well-disposed. Without training men do good deeds through natural disposition, but unless cultivated and developed this disposition is overcome by evil passions and bad surroundings. It is in the nature of an infant to love its parents. Without premeditation, and from good disposition only, a man hastens to the rescue of a child that has fallen into a well. That is to say, he does so because it is his nature to do so, not because of the presence in him of something Shushi calls *ri*. Such a disposition, attended to, becomes universal benevolence or love, *jin*. Shame of one's self in wrong doing, and condemnation of it in others are the outcome of an instinct for righteousness, a disposition to righteousness, which duly cultivated becomes the conduct, *gi*. The faculty of discriminating between right and wrong is the instinct which urges to wisdom.

Jinsai finds strange confusion in Shushi's distinction between *kishitsu no sei* and *honnen no sei* when applied to the ancient classics, because in his version of the meaning of these writings he gives to *sei* one or the other of these significations, just as it suits his own views, and not because of anything to be found in the classics themselves.

Men of the Jinsai school argue: if merely by repressing *ki'ri'n* man becomes perfect, this should lead him to do nothing but contemplate *ri*, be composed, and meditate, as is taught so greatly by the Teishu school to be the means of restoring the original *sei*. If the mere removal of passion from the

heart be enough, why did not the *seijins* give up all their endeavours to teach the world the way, instead of only counselling men to resist their passions? If a man can become perfect by such means, why have there been so few perfect men? Effort in this direction is vain; we must try day by day so to act that the mind gets so accustomed to do right that no evil can affect it. When we have trained ourselves to do no wrong, even to gain the whole world, then only can we be fairly said to be perfect men. Not contemplation, but action is the way. The way is by cultivating and encouraging and extending the natural good tendencies.

But should every man do only that which seems right to him, great mistakes might be committed. Hence, in order to lead men to perfection, the *seijins* have, in the classics, pointed out the way—pointed it out, not invented it—which is to follow man's natural and uncorrupted disposition. Thus the 'way' which in the Teishu philosophy is *ri*, is a reality of man's life, and not some silent imperceptible existence independent of his actions, and outside his consciousness. To consider *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, as each a form of *ri*, is like saying that the fire is in the flint and steel, or the sound in the bell.

Although to a certain extent there are a few men naturally wise, and a few hopelessly foolish, the perfect man differs from the ordinary man not so much by nature, as through habit and discipline of mind.

To Shushi's doctrine that *jin* is the *ri* of love, existent before it is felt, the *yo* so soon as it is felt, and the *hōdokoshi*, when it is manifested by action, Jinsai objects that it is dividing *jin* into three stages and giving the essential part of it, the real action, only the third place. *Jin* lies in the action itself.

Go-gyō is merely the invention of Tōchūjo and Yōyū, two philosophers of the Kan dynasty.

Man by nature has desire for many things, and while

regulated and moderated there is no evil in it. Good and evil are only relative, and are not of different origin. If it is the case that the good in man comes of *sei*, and the evil of *kishitsu*, what is the reason that *kishitsu* is bad? It must be from *ri* (reason) and therefore we are to conclude that *ri* is also evil! That the natural tendency is good is only a general statement of the fact that the great majority of men are good, or possessed of a good disposition.

From the above summary it will be seen how Jinsai attacks Shushi at many points essential in his philosophy. Naturally, there must be agreement between them on some points.

Sorai teaches that man is bound to follow Heavens' way. Every man, however mean, has some function to perform in the world (*ten shoku*) appointed by Heaven, and it is his destiny to fulfil it, but it is not the lot of the multitude to know Heaven's way by themselves. Only a small number of wise men can know that, and then only through the *seijins* or classics. The multitude is simply to follow the *seijins*, teachings. It is not taught or expected that every man should become a *seijin*. Some are only fitted to be common people and do common work as their duty. It will be seen therefore that the teaching of Sorai is more of the nature of a religion than of a philosophy.

With Sorai and his followers the discussion of *sei* is quite a secondary matter, although Sorai holds that man has no more tendency to good or to follow the way than has a piece of wood to make or be made into a box or a house. The joiner or carpenter can use wood for his purpose, because its nature fits it to be made into a box or a house. But it is not the nature of wood to be a box or a house. The leading idea in Sorai's philosophy is that man being a social being, and unable to live isolated, the true way must lie not only in training the individual mind and body in the virtue of *jin*, but must also include the way to promote the welfare and order of the world. Hence his 'way' includes the different

institutions organised by the ancient *seijins*, *Gyō*, *Shun*, *U*, *Tō*, *Bnnnō*, *Buwō*, *Shukō*, and *Kōshi*, who were appointed by Heaven, to show the world Heaven's way. These institutions are *rei* (rules of social conduct) and *gaku* (music), and serve to keep people, unconsciously and without suffering, in the right way. Next to *rei* and *gaku* come *kei* (justice and law) and *sei* (government), and by these means people are kept in purity of thought and habit, so that slowly and without being conscious of it they act all according to the 'way', and finally evil thoughts can not affect them. *Jin* is indeed the greatest and most important virtue, but it is only one out of many, and is not the spring of all other virtues as taught in the Teishu school. Nor is it the whole of the way. *Ri* is used only in the ordinary sense of reason. Sorai does not deny that there may be something like *ri*, but if there is, it is altogether arbitrary, and since everybody understands *ri* and 'way' from his own point of view, it can be of no value or significance. He does not believe in *go-gyō* although he believes in *in-yō*. It is vain to try to discipline the mind, he says, by contemplation. To try to discipline the mind by one's own mind is like a mad man trying to cure himself of insanity. Discipline from without is the supreme thing, and evil thoughts when not acted upon do not call for condemnation.

Sorai liked to write in the peculiar antiquated style called *Kobunji*, introduced by Rihanryō or Riurin, a scholar of the Ming dynasty, and to believe that by this means he could understand the true signification of the ancient writings; and believed that then, inspired by Heaven, he could make out the simple and original sense of these writings. His "*Gakusoku*," or rules of teaching in his school, was written in this antiquated style. He considered that China was the only enlightened country and the only one producing *seijins*, his own countrymen he regarded as little better than barbarians.

He thinks that the saying of Mencius that *sei*, man's

fundamental nature, is good, and that of Shishi, Confucius's grandson, that *sei*, man's fundamental nature is to be followed, were written merely to protect Confucianism from the attacks of such contemporary writers as Rōshi (Laotse), who declared that *seijins* are unnatural beings and their 'way' unnatural. These words were written in controversy, and are not to be taken as among the normal expositions of the *seijins*.

He criticises Shushi for making the way nothing but speculative philosophy. He agrees with Jinsai in doing away with the metaphysical entities (*ri*, *sei*, etc.), but considers him wrong in limiting the 'way' to *jin*, *gi*, *rei*, *chi*, and *kō* (filial love), *tei* (brotherly love), and in not going beyond the personal virtues. He attacks Jinsai for having taken Confucius apart from the more ancient *seijins*, and for having made his tenets to be merely the working out of the personal virtues, since, according to his own view, Confucius is the exponent of the way of Sennō (ancient kings, such as Gyō, Shun, etc.) To him, Shōsho or Shokyō (collection of records and teachings of the ancient *seijins*), and Shi or Shikyō (a collection of ancient poems) are of the utmost importance, although he considers Shikyō as only a literary work, while Shushi treats it as an instrument for teaching morality. In Sorai's view, the 'way' of the *seijins* is not itself difficult for ordinary people, but becomes so difficult by the introduction of discussions about *sei*, and the substance and application of *jin*, etc., that all the world gets in despair of doing good at all. He thinks the idea of modifying one's *kishitsu* to be an invention of the Teishu school, and does not believe in *ri* as existing in man's nature.

Jinsai and Sorai are classed together as followers of the ancient learning, and they agree in their opposition to the Teishu school, but it will be seen that they also differ among themselves in minor points.

Briefly told, the position of Japanese philosophy is about this. The Teishu school gained influence from the beginning

of the Tokugawa rule. Iyeyasu and his successors were strong supporters of the Teishu school. But with the rise of the *Kogaku* school, scholars began to doubt the truth of the teachings of Teishu. Although not publicly declared so, in the minds of many, Shushi-ism became a separate doctrine from the tenets of Confucius, and many attempts were made to get at the truth directly from the Classics. If the writings of scholars generally classed among the orthodox school be carefully examined, the number of those who accept Shushi in all things will be found to be much less than appears at first sight. Those who did not accept all the doctrines of Shushi, but freely took from any school, were popularly called the *Sechūgaku* thinkers. As of this school, the names of Nakai Riken and Ōta Kinjō may be mentioned. Some few followed what is called the *Kōshōgaku* (critical learning), but this school was very insignificant, and cannot compare with the critical school of the Chinese scholars under the present Manchurian dynasty. In reality, *Kōshōgaku* is a method rather than a philosophy. The rise of the heterodox school alarmed the Tokugawa Government, to which the Teishu school, as that to which Iyeyasu belonged, stood somewhat in the position of an Established Church. Matsudaira Raku-ō, the Daimyō of Shirakawa, who became First Minister, was strongly inclined to 'orthodoxy,' and he promoted Shiba Ritsuzan, Koga Seiri, and others, to the post of 'Scholar' to the Shōgun, and opened courses of lectures at Seidō in Tōkyō to the public, at the same time prohibiting as heresy all other learning except that of Shushi. This political interference had some effect. Sato Issai, Yoshino Kinryō, Shionoya Tōin, etc., succeeded, and had many followers, but the heterodox school continued also to produce many distinguished men. Scattered over the country, some in the employ of daimyōs, many orthodox and also heterodox scholars drew students from all parts of the land, and were slowly influencing the minds of those of the Chinese school. Among many teachers who lived to the end of the Tokugawa

period, Yasui Sokken is well known. He is one of the followers of the old learning. Yamada Hōkoku, whom I have mentioned as remembered by me as heterodox among many others, leant much to Ōyōmei. He also lived to see the fall of the Tokugawa government. Whatever may have been the influence of Shushi's teachings, it is noteworthy to see that nearly all the followers of the Chinese philosophy now living or recently so, when they have freely spoken out their belief, have proved to belong to the mixed school, somewhat influenced by the writings of the Chinese writers of the Manchurian dynasty. Few only seem still to believe in Shushi's exposition of *sei* and *ri*, at least in their full sense, especially in the doctrines of two classes of *sei*, namely *hōnen no sei* and *kishitsu no sei*.

In confirmation of what I have said, I would here refer readers of Japanese to different published lectures at the Shibungakukwai, the earlier parts.

Something similar has happened in China. Since the time of Shushi down to the latter part of the Ming dynasty, practically no deviation from Shushi was made. But from the latter part of the Ming dynasty scholars began to think that the Teishu philosophy is too narrow to hold all the truth. From the beginning of the present Manchurian dynasty many scholars attempted to study the Classics directly from the originals. As the result of this there arose a Kogaku school, something like that of Jinsai and Sorai, but, naturally, different in many points ; and also a Critical school, members of which have shown much skill and ability.

As Shushi has been named a historian by Dr. Knox, it may be of interest to notice the part he played in this line. He did not write history, but took *Tsugan*, a history by Shiba Onkō, and altered it to suit a conventional system, in which what is considered righteous is praised, what is wrong is made to be punished. By changing the text, the usurper is deposed or subordinated, and he who is considered to have been the rightful heir is made to occupy his place, although

as a matter of fact, the greater part of the country shall have been under the rule of this usurper,—and so forth. This was considered to be an imitation of Confucius's *Shunjū* (a kind of chronicle), the traditional method of interpretation of which was that every word implied punishment of wrong and upholding of right; a theoretical exposition since abandoned by some scholars, including the distinguished Chinese Emperor, Kōkitei or Seiso, the founder of the present Manchurian dynasty, although he was nominally a follower of Shushi. (For the way this emperor makes Shushi's words suit his own views; see the preface by him to *Shunjūdensetsu-isan*, an exposition of *Shunjū* written by many scholars under his direction.)

The traditional exposition of *Shunjū* so thoroughly filled the minds of scholars that not only Chinese but Japanese history also, especially that written by the Chinese school, came to have for its object not the studying the connections between events so much as the inculcation of morality. Hence those who were considered to be righteous were always made to be so, as far as possible, to show to the world as examples, and all notice of their minor irregularities of conduct was suppressed wherever it could be done. Conversely, those who were considered to be wrong were made out to be always wrong, to serve as a warning to the world, all the good done by them being treated as not sufficient to cover one action unpardonably wrong when judged by a certain standard. Histories thus framed contain usually, at convenient periods, short discussions and judgments (by the author) of the conduct of the persons described in the narrative. This is in imitation of the method of Chinese historians. Histories written during the Tokugawa rule, that is during the ascendancy of the Shushi school, are mostly of this description. Among them *Dainihonshi*, *Nihongwaishi*, etc, may be mentioned as being best known. They were written by scholars of the Chinese school, and in the Chinese language.

Whatever may be the value of histories thus constructed

by scholars of the Chinese school, their political importance at the time was very great. Shushi's modification of *Tsugan*, called *Tsugan Kōmoku*, was looked upon as a continuation of *Shunji*, and its spirit penetrated deeply into the minds of scholars. The *Dainihonshi* was written by Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the Daimyō of Mito, in a different fashion from that of *Tsugan Kōmoku*, yet in the same spirit, and it thus occupied, to some extent, the place which *Tsugan-Kōmoku* takes in China. This and works like it were very much valued and read, and from principles therein inculcated, scholars gradually began to recognise that the rightful sovereign of the country dwelt in Kyōto. At the same time the Shintō school, represented by Kamo no Mabuchi, Motoori Norinaga, and Hirata Atsutane, brought forward the history of the ancient Imperial rule, and indirectly the rights of the Court at Kyōto. Strong protests were made against calling China, *Chū-kwa*, the centre of civilisation, and other current notions pronounced absurd, and these found willing hearers among the educated class. In loyalty to the rightful sovereign the two rival schools, the Shintō and the Chinese, became completely united. Thus gradually the Chinese philosophy breathed in the spirit of the teachings of Shintō, and became thoroughly national. Loyalty took the place of filial duty in Chinese teaching; and to serve the cause of the Emperor became the most essential duty for those with cultivated minds. Some became avowed supporters of the Kyōto court, and were known as *Kinnō-ka*.

The followers of Shushi more readily than others adopted the Shintō teaching. Thus Yamazaki Ansai, an earnest disciple of Shushi, believed in Shintō teaching in his later years in spite of the remonstrances of Asami Kaisai and others of his pupils. One of the earnest advocates of the cause of Kyōto, persecuted by the Tokugawa Government, was Takeno-uchi Shikibu, who was a follower of Ansai. Yamagata Daini, and Fujii Umon, who were killed by the Tokugawa authorities, were also much affected by the Chinese

learning. Their successors, Takayama Hikokurō and Gamō Kumpei, also felt strongly the Chinese influence; indeed Gamō wrote books in Chinese. Matsudaira Sadanobu (or Raku-ō), a supporter of the Teishu school, while he prohibited other schools, yet encouraged the Shintō learning and was quite dutiful to Kyōto. In this way the Shintō and Chinese teachings became amalgamated in a common cause. This union of Chinese philosophy with Shintō teaching was still more successfully carried out by the scholars of the Mito clan, as represented by Tokugawa Nariaki (or Rekkō), the Daimyō of Mito and a descendant of Mitsukuni the historian, and by Fujita Tōko, Aizawa Kōzo, and others, *samurai* of the Mito clan. They wrote in Chinese in spite of their being exceedingly national and patriotic, and their philosophy was essentially that of Shushi. These upheld as much as any one the rights of the Imperial court, and encouraged loyalty to it. For some time before the restoration of the Imperial Government these scholars exercised great influence on the minds of the *samurai*, and indirectly did much to bring about the revolution. For many of those who played an important part in it had been, in one way or another, under the influence of their teachings. It will thus be seen that the whole movement of the Kinnō-ka derived much of its impetus from the then accepted exposition of *Shunjā*, and from Shushi's *Tsugan Kōmoku*. It certainly is strange to see the Tokugawa rule much shaken, if not actually overthrown, by that doctrine, which generations of able Shōguns and their ministers had earnestly encouraged and protected. It is perhaps still more remarkable to see the Mito clan, under many able and active chiefs, become the centre of the Kinnō movement, which was to result in the overthrow of the Tokugawa family, of which it was itself a branch.

A COMMENT UPON SHUSHI'S PHILOSOPHY.

BY GEORGE WM. KNOX, D.D.

[Read 9th March, 1892.]

The association of Jinsai and Sorai with the orthodox philosophers in the introduction to my translation of the Shundai-Zatsuwa has called forth Mr. Haga's interesting "Note" giving details of the Kogaku school. Kyusō repeatedly refers to this school but always with sharp criticism and reproof,¹ and the "Note" will enable the reader to test the fairness of his polemic.

As Mr. Haga touches upon some of the fundamental positions of the Tei-Shu philosophy, it has seemed worth while to set forth Shushi's own teaching in a brief resumé. The quotations in this "Comment" are from the forty-ninth section of Shushi's complete works.

Ri is law conceived as an entity. It somewhat resembles the Platonic ideas. By it all things have their ideal nature. It is above all form² and of itself is neither motion nor rest.³ It has motion and rest, for while motion and rest are ki, their law is ri.⁴ Essentially ri is benevolence and righteousness and is wholly pure and good.⁵

5 4 3 2

1 Pp. 45-49 above.

蓋氣是之靜則動理言也太有性必也之也之氣天
 理乎靜仁乎氣靜有也極形必累是器氣道地
 則此便且何若動靜有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 純又是有目而無故靜有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 粹何動義前動氣有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 至關於便論動靜有也極形必累此理人生物形者
 善

a time when these opposites were not.¹⁸ The cosmic processes are condensation and dispersion.¹⁹ *Ri* forms nothing, *ki* forms and makes; and wherever *ki* condenses there is *ri* in its midst.²⁰ The *kosmos* was formed by the action of the *In* and *Yö*; the impure sediment settling and forming the Earth, the lighter part forming the Heavens.²¹ The opposites grinding together, as the grain is scattered from a mill, so are all things formed; there is both the fine and the coarse, and the former constitutes all that is worthy and noble, the latter all that is evil and ignoble.²² Earth is thus *ki*, so are trees, stones and man's body. Heaven is also *ki*, as are likewise sun, stars, wind, thunder, lightning, man's soul and mind.²³ *Ki* in fact is everything except the incorporeal and ethical *ri*. In calling Shushi a dualist, then, it must be remembered that motion and rest, matter and force, matter and mind are still all of one, and this one is *ki*. His dualism arises from the reification of *ri*.

The universe is not created, but is an eternal process. The passages in the Classics which seem to ascribe creation and providence to Heaven are explained away. Heaven itself is a part of the unending process that comprehends the all. It is generated like all the rest.²⁴ Ideally it is

24	23	22	21	20	19	18
之雄後有也神性	粗無達生其畫	在爲在多氣天	便無蓋	見橫	然	
生壤此此故魂只	有己只人四夜	中星中注運地	在計氣	得渠	動	
無其理理	細只管物邊運	夾辰夾淳磨初	其度則	陰言	靜	
所生有後	如管層之散而	不只氣藏米間	中無能	陽陰	無	
付皆安方	人層々萬出無	動在之面磨只	達疑	之聚	端	
受是頓有	物々散珠紛息	不外消無去是	作結	情之	陰	
耶如處此	有生出如擾便	是常有處磨陰	只達	陽	陽	
此大氣	偏出天麵者是	在周便出得陽	此作	必無	始	
又而既	有人地磨便陰	下環爲便急之	氣理	散		
何天有	正物之相是陽	運天結了氣	凝却	之一		
處地此	其氣似游之	轉爲成便道	聚無	役		
天細氣	中運其氣兩	地日個擲一	處情	却		
地而然	有轉四以端	便月地許個	理意			

ri, as are all other things by nature. Psychologically and physically it is ki. When the Classics say that Jōtei does this and that: that Heaven bestows, appoints, protects, generates, etc., Shushi explains, that the meaning is merely that the ri is thus and so.²⁵ At the same time Heaven is not a dead thing. Shushi is not a materialist in the modern sense. Whatever belongs to man's nature belongs in higher degree to Heaven. When man, e.g., is righteous, Heaven responds. All the universe is to Shushi instinct with life, and he identifies the all with the operations of man's mind rather than with matter. But in fact the distinction of spirit and matter is not his. He moves in a different intellectual sphere. (See "Ki, Ri and Ten" below).

Shushi thought it the distinguishing merit of the preceding philosophers of the Sō (Sung) dynasty that they cleared up the greatest difficulty in the Classics, viz. the ascription of goodness to man's nature notwithstanding his present sinfulness. The Sages left this unexplained but the scholars of the Sō dynasty ascribed the perfect goodness to the ideal ri and the origin of evil to the imperfect receptivity of portions of the ki, and thus presented a theory which so far forth was intelligible and consistent. Its refutation needs more potent arguments than the Kogaku school appear to possess. For Jinsai says: "If it is the case that the good in man comes of sei (ri) and the evil of ki-shitsu, what is the reason that ki-shitsu is bad? It

問上帝降衷於民，天將
降大任於人，天祐民，作
之君，天生物，因其才而
篤作善降百祥，作不善
降百殃，天將降非常之
禍於此世，必預出非常
之人以擬之，凡此等類
是蒼々在上者，真有主
宰如是耶，抑天無心，只
是推原其理如此，曰，此
三段，只一意，達箇也只
是理如此。

must be from ri, and therefore we must conclude that ri is also evil." This conclusion would follow were ri the source of ki, and were ki essentially evil, but neither position is in accordance with Shushi's teaching.

He thus explains the origin of evil:—Ri is the law of all the virtues, the essence of benevolence and righteousness. Wherever ki forms there ri rests in its midst. But ki exists in two forms, as we have seen, and from these all things are developed with the distinction of fine and coarse. Certain portions and forms of ki are perfectly recipient of ri and there is virtue and goodness. Other portions and forms of ki imperfectly receive ri and there is sin and evil.²⁶ Ri is not evil, for where it is in its perfection is goodness and virtue; its obscuration alone is evil. Nor is ki essentially evil, though it may obscure the ri as the morning mist obscures the sun. Ri is changeless and it is of ri that the superior man writes when he calls man's nature "good." Ki is changeful and it is not fitting that he should write of it.²⁷ As ki ever changes ri cannot be always evenly received. Evil is thus of necessity, as always in pantheistic systems.²⁸ Ki exists everywhere and always in its two-fold form, so that In and Yō, motion and rest, the fine and the coarse, being associated together, there is only a question of preponderance.²⁹ In the meanest man good is not wholly absent, and in the best man an element of evil

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欲求逃正	氣可鷄矣之等不及看	其故	相偏氣通成不同則而論
一網至策	所道集更理語可惡遺	非君	隔氣之塞異齊也氣氣萬
之細聚云	生不報以一及以亦書	常子	之偏言理氣猶異物
不相散陰	否是竭事驚易濁不中	道	塞者然固之之相觀之
能絳相陽	天惡實即偏者可善	其	者便氣不異異近萬一
蓋相盪之	地擊致此陽不不惡	常	便只累可者者而物原
謂兼分氣	陰毒之義無謂謂皆	而	自得既以偏純理之則
是相降循	陽藥只可之之天	不	與理殊偏全聯絕異理
也制相環	之還如推盡水性理	道	理之則正之不體同

remains. Only the ideal ri is perfectly good.⁸⁰ And as condensation continues the "Way" (ri) disappears from among men; the world returns to chaos, and the process begins again.⁸¹

Jinsai and Sorai charge the Tei-shu school with making the "Way" nothing but speculative philosophy, and the contemplation of ri. This is so far true that philosophical knowledge is represented as essential to virtue, in agreement with Plato. But it is not taught that knowledge terminates in itself. It leads to action and its end is a virtuous life.⁸²

As natura naturans and natura naturata are both ki; as ki is both matter and force, both soul and body; as by its varying degrees of condensation there may be ki within ki and ki visible and invisible, Shushi's own language is not always clear and there is room for differing interpretations. However, the theory is fairly consistent, though, as in all the philosophy of the Far East, clear definition is wanting. It may be questioned whether Shushi was always clear as to his own meaning. Ri is more difficult of explanation than ki, for it never condenses nor changes. It is forever one and yet each particular thing has its own. When the difficulty is forced upon him Shushi takes refuge in illustration and says:—As the moon is one and yet is seen in every stream, so is the ri; an illustration which shows how far he was from solving his problem.

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起	一	極	會	又	言	得	亦	獨	之	善	固	靜	異	相	陰
一	番	了	壤	問	矣	以	欲	有	象	惡	並	無	乎	無	陽
人	人	便	只	天		不	去	善	而	之	立	端	此	其	之
物	物	一	是	地		能	惡	而	言	分	而	陰	茲	寓	氣
都	都	齊	相	會		相	而	無	則	也	無	陽	以	善	相
盡	盡	打	將	壤		無	全	惡	人	若	先	無	氣	惡	勝
又	又	合	人	否		者	善	其	之	以	後	始	言	之	而
重	重	混	無	曰		而	不	為	性	善	之	其	則	象	不
新	新	沌	道	不		為	復	舉	本	惡	序	本	動	則	能

The Kogaku school is right in its criticism of the quotation of the Classics in support of the Tei-Shu ontology. Kyusō praises the philosophers of the Sō dynasty for discovering that which was not taught by the Sages, but still cannot resist the temptation to quote Classical authority for the discomfiture of his opponents. His success is perhaps equal to that of most men who quote ancient proof texts in support of modern theory.⁸³

The polemic of the Kogaku school in general furnishes another illustration of the ordinary method of philosophical controversy in the past in the Far East. The *Okina Mondō*, the *Heki-ja-sho-gen* and Kyusō's writings, offer further illustrations. On the whole they justify Faber's severe comment on Shushi's own criticism of Buddhism and Taoism:—"But the polemics seldom or never enter thoroughly into the doctrines which are really brought forward by their opponents, but instead, they caricature them so that their monstrosity is easily proved. In this way Mencius treated Meti, and it seems as if this method is especially adapted to the Chinese mind."⁸⁴

The Kogaku school succeeded in shaking the faith of many in the Tei-Shu doctrine, but did not substitute any clear and defined system in its place. As constructive philosophers they do not appear worthy of a place with Shushi and Ōyōmei. The judgment of the orthodox scholars upon their teaching was perhaps not wholly undeserved.

In conclusion it may be noted that the Tei-Shu philosophy still retains sufficient vitality in Japan to lead Dr. Inoue Tetsujiro, Professor of Philosophy in the Imperial University, in the current number of the Transactions of the Philosophical Society, to devote an article to the exposure of the absurdities of its teaching as to Natural Philosophy.

⁸³ Pp. 47-49 above.

⁸⁴ The Doctrines of Confucius, p. 33.

REMARK BY PROFESSOR INOUE.

Dr. Inoue, Professor of Philosophy in the Imperial University, expressed himself as much gratified with the exposition of Japanese philosophy given by Mr. Haga and offered the following criticisms. Mr. Haga had mentioned the names of most of the Japanese philosophers who dissented from the Tei-Shu school, but he had forgotten to add a very famous writer, Kaibara Yekken (貝原益軒) who was the contemporary of Jinsai and Sorai. Among the numerous books written by Yekken, there is only one which claims especial attention from a philosophical point of view: his *Taigiroku* (大疑錄), which means "Great Doubt," so called because he explains in the book why he doubts the philosophical doctrine of Tei-Shu. In one place Yekken says: "*Ri* and *ki* are surely one thing, but Shushi takes them for two different things. I am therefore embarrassed, and I cannot follow him." Yekken was without doubt a monist, because he thought that *ki* alone is the fundamental principle of the world. But he had adopted his main idea from a celebrated Chinese writer, Rasei-an (羅整庵), in the Ming dynasty.

On the other hand Mr. Haga, he thought, might well omit some writers, for example Shiwonoya and Yasui, who had done nothing in the sphere of philosophy.

Moreover it would have been advisable to trace the connexion between the Japanese philosophers, whom he mentioned, and the Chinese philosophers from whom they borrowed their fundamental ideas. Most of the Japanese

philosophers had adopted the views of some Chinese philosopher or other. Jinsai, for example, got some of his philosophical principles from Goteikan (吳廷翰) in the Ming-dynasty, who wrote a book entitled *Kissai-manroku* (吉齋漫錄). Sorai got his principal idea from Junshi. Junshi considers human nature as originally bad, and Sorai adopts this view implicitly, although he does not express it openly. Junshi considers rei (ceremony) as highly important, and rei has almost the same position as moral order in his philosophy. The views of Sorai approach very near to this, because he thinks that rei (ceremony) and gaku (music) are the moral principles of the sages. Sorai has also adopted some views of the savant Yōshōan (楊升庵). In the case of Ōshio it would also be better to show in what points he is indebted to the philosophy of Ōyōmei, and whether or not any of his views at all were his own.*

Dr. Inoue thought that Dr. Knox had shown a surprising acquaintance with Chinese and Japanese philosophy. He agreed with Dr. Knox that Shushi had never believed in anything like a Creator in the same sense as Europeans generally understand the term. The philosophy of Shushi was on the whole materialistic. The ri of Shushi just referred to could be held, he thought, as the reality in opposition to ki, just as the "thing-in-itself" of Kant, although ki is not the manifestation of the ri.

As regards the periodical change of the world, Shōkōsetsu (邵康節) in the Sung dynasty had maintained that the world must undergo a radical change in every 129,600 years and become chaos once more, but after the same length of time it would be set in order again, so that the world would change in an eternal round like day and night.

The *Mukyoku* mentioned by Dr. Knox comes first in the *Tao-te-king* of Laotz. In the well known letter of Rikushōzan to Shushi we find that this point is well noticed.

* Ōshio Introduction, note 35, above.

KI, RI AND TEN.

BY GEORGE WM. KNOX, D.D.

[Read 9th March, 1892.]

The Japanese view of the Chinese philosophy is well represented by Ōhashi Junzō and Kaibara Yekken. The first is a fervid upholder of the Tei-Shu orthodoxy, and the second a modest and moderate critic of that system. In the following extracts from their writings passages have been combined and condensed that the essential points may be presented compactly.

Ōhashi Junzō was born near Utsunomiya, of a family which had lost its position and property. His fondness for books attracted the attention of a merchant of Utsunomiya, Kikuchi of the Sanoya, who adopted him, educated him and gave him his daughter in marriage. Junzō studied at the Confucian college, the Seido, in Edo, and after completing his studies opened a school in the suburb called Kō-m'me mura, beyond Mukojima.

He lived in the times when the old was giving place to the new, and strenuously opposed the opening of Japan to foreign ideas and civilisation. To his earnest conservatism the foundations of good government, of morals and of society seemed to be threatened; and yet the scholars who had been his teachers were among the advocates of the new policy.

The *Heki-ja-sho-gen* was published Jan. 26th, 1857. It is an impassioned attack upon the sympathizers with the West from the position of implicit faith in the Tei-Shu philosophy.

Junzō, at one time, had been a follower of Ōyōmei but finally rejected that system. The Tei-Shu ontology expressed the absolute truth to his mind, and though all others should forbear he was moved to speak his message. He felt himself to be a witness for truth and righteousness, and, wholly in the spirit of the doctrine he professed, sealed his faith with a martyr's suffering and death.

Junzō was imprisoned in February, 1862, because of his opposition to the marriage of the younger sister of the Emperor to the Shōgun (December, 1861). The attack on Ando Tsushima no Kami was in February, 1862, and Junzō's students were implicated. Junzō himself was charged with instigating it and was repeatedly examined by torture. He maintained his innocence, however, and was released from prison, August 2, 1862. Exhausted by his sufferings he died five days after his release.

His prophecies have been in part fulfilled, even in his own family. His two grand-daughters, by adoption, are students in a prominent school in Tōkyō, and with the physics and astronomy of the West have accepted its religion.

The following description of Ki, Ri and Ten is taken from the second volume of the *Heki-ja-sho-gen*.

THE WEST KNOWS NOT NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.

In the thought of the Sages nothing is before Natural Philosophy or more important. The term occurs first in the Book of Changes, and the subject is treated in all the Classics under various names. He who would know the truth of Heaven and man without its aid, is like a boat without a rudder: his labour is all in vain. After Mencius, however, scholars knew the mere words and outer form of the doctrine, and failed to grasp the underlying truth until the philosophers of the Sō dynasty, who first comprehended the Sages and

showed that knowledge has its root in natural philosophy, and action its root in reverence. Should Sages again appear they would not oppose this exposition.

Ri is in the spirit and form but is not ruled by them ; on the contrary they are ruled by ri. This teaching is so difficult that some great men like Rikūsōsan and Ōyōmei have failed to understand it and have fallen into heresy. How impossible is it then that ignorant and purposeless men should comprehend ?

Followers of the western learning steal this illustrious name and call themselves natural philosophers, shamelessly saying that the West knows the law of the universe. They are rebels who exhibit a forged seal of state and gather a vile rabble. True disciples of Confucius and Mencius should raise their banner, expose the counterfeit, and destroy these false scholars, that they may get their just reward from the spirits of the former Sages dwelling in Heaven. But scholars do this not. They join the rabble, praise the Western learning and pierce the Sages as with a sword. My powers are all too small, but putting modesty aside I shall explain the learning of the Sages, the false luxuriance of the Western science and the meaning of natural philosophy.

All know that the teaching of the Sages is of the " Way " and not of wonders, so if we know not the " Way," let our hearts be never so honest, we shall be like an archer without a mark, like a traveller who knows not the road, but depends upon his fancies and wanders guideless and chartless into byways. Therefore said the scholars of the Sō dynasty, " First know, then act." But modern scholars are not intent on this and have no true knowledge. They glibly say : " The Way is benevolence and righteousness, obedience and loyalty," while knowing nothing of the reality, the source and body of the virtues. If we ask : Since the Way is one, what distinguishes the virtues ? How were Heaven and Earth formed ? By what do all things exist ? If man's nature is good whence comes evil ? By whose rule are all

men formed alike? Why is there communion with our dead ancestors when we worship them? Why is all the universe well ordered when my one heart is at peace? If we ask any fundamental question the perspiration starts at once and they cannot reply at all. Or if they speak it is only from the fancy of the moment, and within they are like a boat driven by the wind or a horse with a broken halter. Though they read a thousand books and their eloquence flow like a river, they are as drunken men. First of all then, we must know the "Way," and the first step is natural philosophy. This is the method of the holy learning.

"Way" and "ri" differ in form as narrow and broad, but the reality is one. If it is not studied we learn only appearances and forms, but as ri is formless, voiceless, odorless, it can be studied only as ki is earnestly investigated. The Universe is one ki. Divided it is the In and Yō, Heaven, Earth, the Five Elements, and all things, sun, moon, hills, streams, seas, men, birds, brutes, grasses, trees, insects, fishes. Though these all differ yet are they from the one ki. Its ethereal pure part revolving above is called Heaven, its heavy, impure part, stationary below, is called the Earth. Of the Yō and lighting the day, it is called the sun, and of the In and lighting the night, it is called the moon. Endowed with the five elements and resembling Heaven and Earth it is called man. Flying through the air it is called birds, creeping upon four feet it is called beasts; and in each of these various kinds are divisions innumerable. But all are various appearances of the one ki. Condensed it forms all objects of shape and dissolved it is like the air, and there is no space without it anywhere. As it condenses, that which yesterday was not has form, and when it dissolves that which was until now perishes, condensation and dissolution being alike constant and incomprehensible. In all the universe rain and sunshine, bloom and decay, man's birth and death, the past and present of Heaven and Earth, the changes of sea and land are solely because of the ceaseless

changes of the ki alone. The ki is fine and coarse in kind, and though all know the coarse the fine is not so readily perceived. The gods, the soul, the mind, knowledge, all are wonderful, undefinable and of the one ki. They are of its finer part and subject to change, birth and dissolution. They are not changeless like the ri; but careless scholars identify them with it and think the coarser part only is ki.

Ri is not separate from ki, for then were it an empty abstract thing. It is joined to ki and may be called, by nature, one decreed, changeless norm. It is the ruler of ki, the very centre, the reason why ki is ki. So the ancients roughly called it the origin of things and things they called its body, as if ri were like man's heart and ki his body. But remember that is an illustration only, for man's heart is not ri but ki.

Fire and water are ki; and their burning and flowing too are ki. But that water being water flows and does not burn, and that fire being fire burns and does not flow, that such is the decreed nature of the two, this is of their ri. Burning and flowing do not constitute the reality of the ri but it is their necessity, their unchangeableness. Flower and leaf, unfolding and bloom, all are ki. So too is sweetness and bitterness. But that bitter shall be bitter and sweet shall be sweet is decided unchangeably before birth by the ri, and hence there is no confusion, and bitter is never sweet nor sweet bitter. So with all the unchanging unity in variety of nature, its reason is ri. So with man: eye, ear, hand, foot are ki; sight, hearing, walking, talking, all are ki, and because of ri their order is undeviating and their functions unconfused. The heart and its knowing, its feeling, its passions, all are ki; but that joy goes with good and grief with ill, that tears fall with sorrow and laughter comes with happiness, that all this is determined before birth for wise man and for fool, is ri. With differing things ri has differing names yet is it ever one, decreed, unchanging and the same.

As we said before that in the universe there is no space without ki, so now we say of ri, for wherever there is ki there too is ri. Ki is ever flowing, ever changing; that ever flowing, ever changing it is not confused, this is ri. Were ki without ri, only confusion could result. But the vulgar scholars who know only ki think it is first, and that ri comes from it, as if boat or cart were made without a thought of their future use! Not so! The thought of the use precedes, and the ri remains even after boat and cart are gone. But were ri without ki it would be pure nothing, like the Buddhist "knowledge."

Should we think the "Way" to be of ki then with the changing ki, with its newness and its age, the Way too will change and neither the Way of the ancients nor their virtues will be ours. In the end we shall be like the brutes. Fearing this the Sages set forth the "Way" on high with the ri first and thus unchangeable amidst all the permutations of the ki. If we know not ri study is all in vain and leads to heresy, to the worship of the Buddhas and to prayers to the gods.

This is the method of our study:—First with firm resolve we determine the great questions; whether Heaven and I are one? May all men become sages? Is truth one from the beginning? Why have I become a man? Beyond doubt that having the excellence of the five elements I am one with Heaven and Earth, and we will swear to study until death that we may know. Then, that the mind may be clear, passions must be subdued and evil thoughts put away. This is the foundation for the study of natural philosophy. Then may we study other things and acts;—why the ri are not interchanged; why the eye hears not and the ear sees not, and the like. In things, in books, in acts, in our own feelings, from our friends, ever without idleness, must we study and at last we shall comprehend. Though in the multitude of things we can never study all, still shall we know beyond all doubt that amid all changes, in all

beings great and small, in everything is ri. He who studies without knowing it is lost in a city without a map, is like a multitude of workmen who follow neither plan nor leader. All this I know by my experience, but it rests not on my evidence for it has the full support of Shushi's testimony.

To seek ri by the analysis of things is to seek the wind by the analysis of a fan or ideographs by the analysis of a pen. And such is the learning of the West. It knows only ki and deals with the seen. Analysis and the microscope increase its minuteness but show it no ri. It can analyse an egg but does not know why an egg of a barnyard fowl when hatched by a pigeon brings forth a barnyard fowl. It never can learn that the egg enfolds an unchanging ri, be its microscope never so powerful.

So is it with the "Way." The West knows not the ri of the virtues of the heart which are in all men unchangeably the same. Nor does it know that the body is the organ of the virtues however careful its analysis of the body may be. To suppose that the various duties which arise from our natural relationships can thus be discovered is laughable.

The adherents of the Western philosophy, indeed, study carefully the outward appearances, but thus have no right to steal the honoured name of natural philosophy. As when ki is destroyed ri too disappears so with their analysis of ki they destroy ri and thus this learning brings benevolence, righteousness, truth and loyalty to naught. Among the Westerns who from of old have studied details minutely I have not heard of one who was zealous for the Great Way, for benevolence, righteousness, loyalty and truth, and who opposed the absurdities of the Lord of Heaven (God). Their learning of an hundred things stops with an hundred things, and their learning of a thousand things stops with the thousandth. They are like students who learn industriously the forms of ideographs, and not the meaning. However many they may learn, not one book can they understand.

THE WEST KNOWS NOT HEAVEN.*

The doctrine of the Sages knows and worships Heaven, and without faith in it there is no truth. For men and things, the universe, are born and nourished by Heaven and the "Way," the "ri" that is in all, is the "Way," the "ri," of Heaven. Distinguishing root and branch, the heart is the root of Heaven and the appearance, the revolution of sun and moon, the order of the stars, is the branch. The books of the Sages teach us to conform to the heart of Heaven and deal not with its appearances. The son is not filial if he know not his parent's heart, be he never so well acquainted with the shape of his father's face, with eyes and hair and the body in all its details. Such is the Western learning of our times. It studies only appearances and takes Heaven for a dead unmoving thing. It falls into scorn and lust. But it is drawn out long like a thread, and men who know not Heaven's heart are deceived and think, —The West knows Heaven. How great their error!

The books of the Sages say much of Heaven because Heaven and man are of the same ri. The ignorant think that Heaven is Heaven and that man is man, that man and Heaven are distinct. Such men believe neither reason nor the "Way" and with their selfish false wisdom become like brutes. In pity the Sages earnestly set forth the truth.

To know Heaven we must know man's body. It comes from our parents and is nourished by them as all know. How is it that from the beginning of our existence eyes, nose, face, front, back, hands, feet and all the members of all men, past and present, east and west, are in the same order? It is because there is one ri in all the universe, one lord and ruler, the great parents of us all, called Heaven. Its body we know as we study man. Our bodily members

* Consistency requires that the word ten be retained in the translation with ki and ri, but as its translation is not open to question the English word has been used.

perform their duties unremittingly, tears ever fall with grief and laughter comes with joy, because there is a heart within which is the indwelling Heaven. Man makes it not, but voiceless and shapeless it causes this wonderful activity. So the ancients called the heart "the lord of Heaven" and its virtue, "Heaven's clear command"; but with the body removed we call it Heaven at once without other name. To show this oneness Mencius said, "Knowing nature we know Heaven." Would we know Heaven then we must know the condition of our heart's nature. As our conduct conforms to ri, as in moderation we act, as our hearts rejoice when we are righteous and are ashamed at sins, as we know the least right or wrong within, Sage and dunce, emperor and peasant, differ not at all. This is man's nature and this is Heaven. What man's nature hates Heaven hates; and what man's nature loves, Heaven loves. What is loved brings blessing and what is hated brings grief. So have all the philosophers taught. Heaven seems far away and strange, yet in truth it is the living ri that errs not nor ever is deceived. It can be worshipped only by benevolence, by perfecting our hearts in obedience, loyalty and truth, and by the faithful government of province and empire. Cast away evil, cherish the good, turn from the foolish, use the wise; thus only can Heaven be served.

Astronomy observes the movements of the heavenly bodies and makes calendars. It has its uses, but is only of the appearances. As we know its use, as it too comes from the heart which reverences Heaven, it should not be pursued carelessly. The Sages made calendars to strengthen the state, for the farmer works according to the times of Heaven and if he miss the seasons his labour is in vain. Beyond this need the Sages felt no interest in the mere movements of the heavenly bodies. The later Chinese astronomers became famous and went into the details seemingly beyond the Sages. But the true purpose was forgotten, and the labour was all for fame and accompanied with contentious rivalry.

It helped the farmers not at all. Long ago the Chinese scholars pointed this out. All that the astronomers taught the Sages knew but spoke in brief outline, for they dwelt only on that which is of benefit.

The foreigners are worse, and like the brutes. Not reverent of Heaven, and ignorant of the purpose of the Sages, they follow the custom of their land and study all the details, measure distances, observe the stars and make astronomy a toy. Not knowing the parent's heart they handle and criticise his body. It is valueless, and in the end they scorn Heaven and their sin must be severely reprov'd. Unaided by man, Heaven, voiceless and shapeless, violates no law, and causes sun and moon to revolve, wind to blow and rain to fall a thousand, ten thousand years unchanged. But the barbarians with their little knowledge know this not and think Heaven, Earth, man, things, sun and moon, all separate and distinct. They would study all by the shape, and know not the wonder of the overshadowing Heaven. Be it never so minute such astronomy knows Heaven not at all.

Northern lights, comets and shooting stars, are ordinary things, and not the reproofs of Heaven to the Westerns, who will not stand in awe of them. They think Heaven a dead thing not connected with these portents, and thus the Way of the Sages and man's obedient heart are both destroyed. And some of our scholars are deceived, admitting errors and parables in the sacred books; are filled with doubts and accept the new learning. Most pitiful! Most detestable!

Not without reason surely did the Classics bid us fear the signs of Heaven. When sons are wicked, disobedient, dissolute, drunken, idle, gamblers, sorrow fills the parent's heart and his body suffers too. He thinks of suicide; the sorrow grows; and as his ki hardens the head aches, hands and legs tremble, boils, carbuncles and the like appear. This is the cause though men know it not, for as a stretched rope feels a pull through all its length so are parents and

children one, affected alike and with the same feelings. With the distinction of great and small so is it with Heaven and man : body and ki are one. When rulers are virtueless and the ruled lawless, when scholars are wicked and ignorant men recklessly rise in mobs ; then Heaven and Earth feel the wickedness of their many sons and their ki hardens. Then come Northern lights, comets, thunder in winter, snow in summer, earthquakes and famines. He who cares not for the suffering of his parent is not a man ; and what punishment is too severe if he remain at peace while they for his sake are diseased ? Thus do the Sages teach us to reverence our great parents Heaven and Earth as we gaze on them. When signs appear let us examine with all care ;—Is this disease because of evil in my heart ; or injustice in my government ; or hatred among the people ; or unjust laws ? Even if we find no wrong, yet has the portent come because we are unfilial to Heaven, and we must examine and reprove self with carefulness. The brutes from the West know this not and them I reprove not. But our scholars ! Not to know this ! For them to turn the teaching of the Sages into parables ! With the hearts of fools they imitate the hearts of philosophers, and their folly exceeds that of the foreigners themselves.

Such separation of Heaven and man, of our conduct and its signs is wholly opposed to the Sacred Books. Heaven rejoices when man is virtuous and bestows wind, rain, and harvest in their season so that the empire is at peace and men live out their appointed days ; thus are Heaven and man one in joy and in prosperity. Nor let us fail to know that calamities and portents are for our sins and crimes. To separate man and Heaven, to cease to fear its signs and to fail to know our mutual communion, what folly is this ! what blindness !

One relationship have we all to Heaven, ruler and ruled alike. Yet has the ruler's sin more open and terrible effect. In the family oldest and youngest are alike loved, yet the sin

of the heir is most grievous since his fall bears down the others too, and so in the state the ruler's sin is most grievous though the sin of the common man is neither overlooked nor unpunished. When many of the common people sin the whole body is threatened and the greater punishments appear. Not rulers only but all affect Heaven and it depends upon all. The teaching of the Sages is for high and low alike.

Astronomy cares for the movements of Heaven, not for its heart. The benefits of its study are few and the injury is great. When in China astronomy flourished most, the morals of the people were most decayed. Only the branches and not the root of Heaven were known and when thus men are ignorant of Heaven's heart evil is within.

Consider eclipses, for example. They follow law, and may be calculated so that men come to fear them not. Not so the Sages, who revered Heaven. The sun is the essence of the great Yō and ever gives light. Whether it lose its light according to law or unexpectedly is it less a change in Heaven? Surely the filial son does not talk and laugh when his parent is ill, merely because the illness is periodical! So when an eclipse occurs he who reverences Heaven beats a drum, makes his offering, fasts, stops all music as did the Sages in ancient days. But nowadays all say that eclipses are ordinary things and not to be feared; and by and by folks will cease to examine self when there is unseasonable thunder, great winds, floods, drought and pestilence. The Sages's teaching that we should examine self is thought folly and Heaven too is scorned. Truly it is cause for the deepest grief. The evil comes from measuring Heaven and knowing not its heart.

Western learning knows not Heaven but only its appearances; it ever discusses new views. As it extends Heaven will be thought a dead thing and will be sinned against and scorned. The great "Way" of the Sages will come to an end. As the adherents of the Western learn-

ing noisily teach and make books they will at last go to the very end and be zealous for the Mansions of Heaven.¹ Should not this be feared?

All that is admirable in the Western learning was already in the ancient books. Without imitating the West we can study these, compare and master them, and on this foundation make true progress. It is not the part of scholars to leave the root and be zealous for the branches. If zealous for the branches we have no cause for pride toward the West, nor any cause for shame if we equal not its learning. We must separate things weighty and light, nor mingle them in choice. But alas! Many are they who know not the great root and are overwhelmed at the minuteness of the learning of the West.

The teaching of the Sages is the original truth and given to men it forms both their nature and their relationships. With it complete naught else is needed for the perfect following of the "Way." Let then the child make its parent Heaven, the retainer his lord, the wife her husband, and let each give up life for righteousness. Thus will each serve Heaven. But if we exalt Heaven above parent or lord we shall come to think we can serve it though they be disobeyed and like wolf or tiger shall rejoice to kill them. To such fearful end does the Western learning lead.

Heaven is high, exalted far above our little efforts to extol or belittle it, beyond our praise or blame. Would we benefit it we cannot; would we kill it, it is beyond our reach. Only as its Way is followed and its laws observed can it be served. Let each one die for duty; there is naught else that we can do.

THE TAI-GI-ROKU.—BY KAIBARA YEKKEN.

Kaibara Yekken was a follower of the Tei-Sha school but in old age came to doubt its teachings. He wrote the

¹ The Christian Heaven.

Tai-gi-roku but did not print it or show it to many students. After his death it was found and edited by Ono Michiakira and printed in the year 1766. The editor prefaces the book with an essay by Daizai Shundai. To Daizai's thorough-going dissent Kaibara's "Great Doubt" was little better than faith. Daizai writes :—

"Kaibara only doubted, he did not reject, and remained within the Tei-Shu household. He too exalted Mencius and so was not a true follower of Confucius. Shishi¹ already departed from the teaching of the Sage and Mencius differed from him still more. But Mencius was so engrossed in teaching the (debased) men of his own time that he did not notice his own divergence from Confucius. Nor did the philosophers of the Sō dynasty notice it, but put his writings by the side of the *Analects*. Mencius said, 'the nature is good' for his didactic purpose, but the philosophers of the Sō dynasty thought that the phrase could be explained only by distinguishing the *ki shitsu no sei* and the *hounen no sei*.² Confucius did not use the terms heart, nature, *ri*, *ki*. They were introduced by Shishi, fostered by Mencius and brought to full luxuriance by the philosophers of the Sō dynasty, being made in all essential points identical with Buddhism and Taoism. Kaibara indeed doubted Tei-Shu but he did not doubt Mencius, and so failed to understand his own doubt.

"Buddhism and Taoism are opposed; their seeming agreement is only in unessential points. The Tei-Shu doctrine is eight or nine tenths Buddhism and one or two tenths Taoism. Kaibara supposed that he was opposing the remnants of these doctrines which remained in Shushi's works. But he was far from thorough or he would have rejected Shushi altogether.

"The words of Confucius are the only standard of doctrine. Even Shishi and Mencius are to be rejected; and

¹ The Grandson of Confucius.

² Pp.

still more other teachers ; and still more these philosophers of a later age. But only they who study Confucius independently are prepared to reject them.

"Shushi's followers place him above Confucius and read no other books. How then can they doubt? I too early read Shushi, but doubts arose which the Book of Changes and the Book of Rites confirmed. I cast Shushi aside and then, first, Confucius shone forth like the sun when clouds are dispersed. In other things I cannot equal Kaibara, but in my rejection of these philosophers I am his superior."

THE GREAT DOUBT.

Confucius was the first to set forth the "Way" with clearness. After him Mencius spread abroad the best of Confucius' teaching, but later on truth almost disappeared ; only a thread remained until the Sō dynasty, when many philosophers appeared. The brothers Tei were chief of them all, and since their time Shushi has been supreme. His writings are the most instructive of all the books since Confucius and Mencius ; it is indeed a blessing to have lived after him that one may study his works. Tei and Shu were the teachers and the models of philosophers. They must be honoured and their teaching believed. Yet Shushi was not a Sage nor can his teaching be put upon a level with the words of the Sage. The Tei-Shu doctrine does not agree in every point with Confucius and Mencius. So scholars must examine the Tei-Shu teaching with impartiality and thoroughness, accepting the true and rejecting the false. The philosophers were not Sages, and only the teaching of the Sages is infallible. Shushi himself thus writes :—"With great doubt comes great progress ; with little doubt is little progress ; without doubt is no progress." But doubt may be either true or false ; true doubt considers profoundly and rejects only when forced so to do ; false doubt is merely destructive, it is not to be taken as true.

The philosophers of the Sō dynasty teach that :—the limitless is the source of the great limit; non-being is the source of being; ki and ri are two and distinct; In and Yō are not the "Way" but are in the category of form; the nature of Heaven and Earth must be distinguished from the 'ki-shitsu'; sei (nature) and ri are one and is born not and dies not; but all of these doctrines are from Buddhism and Taoism and are opposed to the teaching of our Sages. Then further, the Tei-Shu school teaches that the heart is to be purified by quietness, isolation, contemplation, oneness with the ri of Heaven: a method they have taken from the mysticism of the Zen sect and that is not in accordance with philosophy. And once more, 'That the clear empty divinity (rei) is the reality of the heart, and that Heaven's ri is unopposed, empty, broad,' is also from Buddhism and Taoism. They based their teaching on the Classics and yet included that which the Classics taught not and so we must accept and reject with discrimination. They severely criticized Buddhism and Taoism, and how it came about that they yet accepted these in part I do not understand. I can only doubt.

The six Classics are the words of the Sages, the truth of the ages, to be believed and never doubted. Among them all the Book of Changes is preëminent, the profound source of the Classics. If we believe it not what shall we believe? It teaches as follows :—

'In and Yō are the Way, the rest and motion of the one ki. Rest is In, motion is Yō; the endless revolution is thus named.' Thus the Sages put one character (ki) above the In and Yō, with profound meaning. Their teaching was sufficient, the eternal truth, the foundation of right and one character (ri) was not omitted by them. Why has it been added then? The "Way" is the movement of the In and the Yō upon right lines (jō-ri), without confusion. Ri is the ri of the ki, they are not to be separated and made two. There is neither "before" nor

"after," neither separation nor meeting, for ki and ri are just one thing. I cannot follow Shushi as he divides them.

The Book of Changes says again:—"In and Yō are the Way;" but Shushi teaches that while the body is born and dies the nature (sei, i.e. ri) is born not and dies not. And Ritsaiki in complete agreement says:—"In ki is birth and death, in ri is neither birth nor death." But I cannot understand this position and thus suggest my dissent while awaiting fuller instruction. As ki collects, man's body is born; as ki disperses, he dies. Nature is the Ten-ri received at birth and ri is the ri of the ki. These are not two. If the body dies the ri is destroyed. Ki is the source of the body and ri is the ri of the ki, so when born the ri comes to exist and when the body dies there is no more its ri remaining. Coolness and heat are the nature of water and fire: when the water disappears and the fire ceases neither coolness nor heat remains, the nature too is destroyed.

To put ri for sei is not good exegesis of the Classics. They teach that the decree of Heaven, what man receives from Heaven, is nature (sei). In sei is the distinction of the ordinary and the extraordinary; the ordinary is the good and the extraordinary the evil. But the latter are few and do not contradict the teaching that the 'nature is good.' All men like that which is sweet and dislike that which is bitter, yet with one in ten thousand the reverse is true. The exception does not destroy the rule. That we receive from Heaven is the ki-shitsu. The nature of water is to flow and to moisten, and its true nature is pure; but its nature and its purity are not two, they are one. The ki-shitsu no sei and the Ten-chi no sei are not to be separated by analysis. The latter is received by the former, and the former by the latter. If there is no ki-shitsu no sei there can be no Tenchi no sei, and thus the two are one and must not be set forth as two. Confucius and Mencius said nothing of two sei (natures) and so are readily understood. Sei at its origin is ever one; but in

its divisions and branches it is all things. At its source it is perfectly pure; but as things are formed, as the ki is received spontaneously, there is the difference of pure and impure, thick and thin, and as thus received and become man it is his one, decreed nature. Thus the source of Sage and of fool is spontaneously different.

The opponents of the Tei-Shu school since the Ming dynasty have been filled with pride and ambition, desirous of distinction and reputation. They do not know their own true value, as they revile Shushi as if he were their inferior or a heretic and not a true follower of the Sages. It is not true criticism when we are without sympathy, but merely find fault and revile, picking out every flaw as if that were being frank, and rudely magnifying trifles into errors. Even if right such reproof angers him who is reproved, and gains no hearing. That is not the true "Way" of reproof. Such has been the criticism of Shushi by later scholars. His teaching was based on the Classics and not far astray. As he was not the equal of the Sages so are his critics inferior to him. They do not really understand him. On the other hand most scholars have accepted Shushi, but too blindly, as if he were wholly at one with the Sages. Thus the right has been somewhat injured, and again Shushi has been somewhat misunderstood.

The Way of the Sages is readily understood, and easily followed and obeyed. Hence it is thoroughly obeyed, and brings forth great virtues, and there are many who follow it. So Mencius compared it to the great highway and said:—It is not difficult to understand it and I grieve that men go not therein. But the later scholars introduced their discussions making it difficult, too high, too distant, hard to be understood and obeyed. In this they differed from the original teaching of Confucius and Mencius.

With the Sages filial obedience, reverence, loyalty and truth were the foundation, and learning was secondary. Their easy method was like the highway, even the fool

might readily know and follow it. Thus is there progress and a gradual advance toward perfection. But the philosophers of the Sō dynasty with their "limitless and great limit" put progress in knowledge as the first thing: and made the purification of the heart through contemplation the foundation of right conduct; and set forth fine, complicated, literary discussions as the foundation of learning. This is what I mean by "too high and too distant and too difficult." This is to put that which is useless and difficult before the virtues. It is too profound, too minute in its analysis, and in the end misses the plain and chief meaning. In this philosophy differs from the Way of the Sages.

Shushi was fond of Buddhist phrases, and never wholly emancipated himself from the influence of the Zen doctrine, which he studied thoroughly in his youth. He was also fond of humour and misled his readers. He was also too much devoted to the teaching of Shūshi¹ and adopted his teaching so implicitly that he became a partizan in some things, especially in the doctrine of the limitless.

The Book of Changes teaches that the Great Limit begets the two activities (In and Yō). Shushi says, Limitless and so the Great Limit. If we say only the Great Limit, it is just one and we cannot derive all things from it. But the Great Limit is the In and the Yō before their separation, the name of the one mixed ki before things are formed and within it is the supreme ri of all things, the origin of Heaven, Earth and everything. So we should put "being" first and not say "non-being." So says the Book of Changes but 'The limitless and so the great limit' is the language of Buddhism and Taoism. Laoze in his fortieth

¹ Shūshi (Chow Tun-i) ranked only second to Chu Hi in literary rank. (Mayers's Manual, p. 33.) "He wrote the "Tai-kyoku-zu-setsu," which taught that the mu-kyoku is the source of the tai-kyoku, and that by contemplation we may know man's kyoku (limit). The brothers Tei and Shushi followed him, and taught the ki-ri-shin (heart)-sei (nature) doctrine." Shundai's introduction to the Tai-gi-roku.

chapter has it:—"All things come from being: being comes from non-being." Thus "non-being" is made source of all. The Sages on the contrary teach that "being" is the source of all. Our doctrine separates from heresy at this line. If we would say the great limit, we should not use the negative. If the great limit merely denotes formlessness I even can understand that, but there is no cause for Shushi's fear that we cannot derive all things from this one thing. However, this word "limit" should not be explained to mean "formless," as Shushi explains it in his commentary, thus putting "limitless" (*mu-kyoku*) for formlessness.

The *ri* is the *ri* of the *ki*, the one *ki* working in the four seasons with birth, growth, maturity, decay, unconfused, of itself orderly and without aberration. So we take the *ri* as of the *ki*. Thus the original nature of water is pure and flowing, but water is not to be set over against its flowing and purity as if these were two things. They cannot be divided into two and so it is that the regularity of the *In* and *Yō* is the "Way" while irregularity is not the original nature of the *ki* nor its "Way."

The *Tai-kyoku* refers to the very beginning, before all development, when as yet the form of the *In* and *Yō* was not revealed. The "great" means the very highest of all (*dajo*) and *kyoku* means the very furthest boundary, and thus *Tai-kyoku* is the origin of the "Way," the root of all things. Nothing in all the universe is higher than this. We cannot name it but use this term *Tai-kyoku* for it. As the one *ki* moves it is called *Yō*, the movement of the *Tai-kyoku*: as the *ki* rests it settles and is called *In*, the resting of the *Tai-kyoku*. Then again it moves and rests, and so with endless alternations, and motion and rest are alike of the one *ki* and not of two *ki*. Viewed in its origin it is called the *Tai-kyoku*, in its separation it is *In* and *Yō*, in its regularity, on straight lines without confusion, it is called the original nature, the "Way" and *ri*. Thus the name changes with that which we intend to designate, but the

reality is just one. There is no ri without ki, nor ki without ri nor does ki come from ri, for these two cannot be separated, being just one.

At times there is confusion and evil, and the usual order is lost by an undetermined change of movement; but this is not the original nature of the In and Yō, it is like water which is pure by nature but now soiled by its contact with mud.

We may say that ki begets all things, and that ri begets all things, but not that ri begets ki, for the two are one and neither is before the other nor source of the other. But Shushi teaches that ri and ki are two, and this is his usual expression, contradicting the saying of the Sage:—"The In and the Yō are the Way." So in my error I cannot escape from doubt.

SOMETHING MORE ABOUT SHUSHI'S PHILOSOPHY.

BY T. HAGA.

[Read April 13th, 1892.]

The reception of my "Note on Japanese Schools of Philosophy," written with the object of showing how far Japanese philosophy has departed from that of the Teishu school, has made it evident that the views of Shushi need to be brought out more fully than was done in that paper, in order that the difference between them and those of Jinsai and Sorai may be clearly perceived. For this reason, and also because I am convinced that the writings of Shushi are as yet but imperfectly apprehended by English writers on the subject, I will try to put into English, as closely literal as seems possible to me, some of the teachings of this celebrated Chinese philosopher. I wish to be understood to be here attempting not to expound Shushi's meaning and to derive from it a consistent theory of philosophy, but merely to place before others for their own judgments a faithful rendering of some of his statements. The definiteness and clearness which characterise Dr. Knox's sketch of Shushi's philosophy will be found wanting in what follows, but not to a much greater degree than in Shushi's own text.

TAI AND YŌ. 體用

In order to throw light upon Shushi's conception of *taikyoku*, something must be written upon the place of the

etc., are its *yō* or activities. *Sei* is *tai*, the substance of the 'way.' But elsewhere we are told that in *sei* are present as *tai*, perfection, righteousness, propriety and equanimity, and 'understanding.'⁴ The feeling of pity is the manifestation (*yō*) of 'perfection'; the feeling of shame in wrongdoing is the manifestation (*yō*) of 'righteousness'; the feeling of respect is the manifestation (*yō*) of propriety; the feeling or sentiment of right and wrong is the manifestation (*yō*) of understanding.⁵ The 'heart' is *tai*; desire is *yō*.⁶ Tranquility is the *tai*; the responding to external influences is *yō*.⁷ Unyieldingness is *tai* and courage is its *yō*.⁸ Brightness is *tai* and the actual shining is its *yō*.⁹ Thus we see that *tai* and *yō* having been distinguished primarily, what is *tai* may further be resolved into *tai* and *yō*.

The heart of man being of one substance (*tai*) with the hearts of Heaven and Earth, when the former is all righteousness the latter become freed from imperfection. Again man's *ki* becoming perfect, the *ki* of Heaven and Earth become so, and this is the extreme 'use' (*yō*) of one's self (*tai*).¹⁰

THE ULTIMATE BASIS OF THE UNIVERSE, AND THE RELATION
OF "RI" AND "KI." 大極 理氣

Shushi says the ultimate basis of the universe is *taikyoku* and that *taikyoku* is *ri*, but utterly devoid of form and

	10	9	8	7	6	5	4
亦體一之能如之心吾中	者	孟	者	論	感	性	即論體而端心則孟
非立用教事此氣亦一	明	子	剛	詔	應	理	用語故充而是隱子
有而雖亦初此亦正體	章	之	集	之	集	是	大體集言之此非之集
兩後有在非學順矣吾	句	用	注	用	注	全	即注不此不之心注
事用動其有問矣吾之	也	曰	曰	朱	遲	胡	同直言心發曰
也有靜中持之故之心	蓋	明	剛	子	用	耳	因端病惡荷嘗中蓋
以之矣於極其氣正天	者	者	曰	即	曰	用	者仁之篇有有仁
行殊是外功效順則地	光	勇	寂	義	心	以	彼義心言孝簡是
則然其而聖驗則天萬	之	之	然	即	著	欲	體恭是弟仁性
其必一脩人至天地物	休	體	是	體	其	其	敬四來義也
實其體逆之於地之本	光	勇	體	欲	本	義	之之者體孝

any perception of man. It has no form and makes no manifestation.¹⁷ It is more ethereal than sound and smell, which are still perceptible as *ki*, although without form.¹⁸

The whole subject is obscured by mystical language both by Shūrenkei and by Shushi, but this much seems clear. *Ri* is the real substance or *tai* of *ki*, and is without form and manifestation. The motion of *ri* generates *yō* and its rest generates ¹⁹ *in*. By its motion its *yō* becomes manifest, and by its rest its substance or *tai* is fixed or realised.²⁰ (It would seem almost as if 'motion' and 'rest' were considered by Shushi as being something actually separable from *taikyoku*.) Motion and rest, succeeding each other continuously, produce *in-yō*, and by the changes and combinations of *in-yō* the five elements—water, fire, wood, metal, and earth—are generated.²¹ From *in-yō* and the five elements the male and female elements are formed. And from them myriads of things spring up. The details concerning the evolution of these are mystical and not worth translating. There need only be mentioned that everything is a *taikyoku* and that *taikyoku*, although formless, contains myriads of things in itself.²²

Taikyoku is the 'way.' It is the true substance of the 'way.' It is in perfect rest, and is quite passive.²³ There-

23	22	21	20	19	18	17
通易通太之萬大水太靜○太分動動太恭之形中無	者本乎極一物極火極也之極陰一極極之故在腐形	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物章無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物章無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物章無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物章無	寂義寂國物統國本國○用國兩動而國妙唯物章無
之曰然解各體說金說之所解儀一靜說此最句象	用寂不曰具一解土曰體以曰立靜靜曰可爲曰	然動天一太曰陽所行《焉互而太以微蓋	者之下太極蓋變以也者爲生極形妙聲	感中之極也合陰立☵陽其陰動容而與	之故也分而合也者之根靜而不猶有	體常而言而陰動分極生顯曰氣
感感言之生之也陽復陽篤無無						

fore, he points out, the *seijins* fixed the human ultimate (the ultimate standard for man) by making rest and quietness the most important ideal.²⁴ *Sei* is at first perfect rest.²⁵ Goodness succeeds.²⁶ *Sei* is *taikyoku* where it is at rest. When it responds to external influences, it no longer is under consideration as the substance in its resting state, but is now the activity or *yō*. The *yō* is not the whole of the 'way.' *In-yō* has forms and manifestations or appearances and must be classed in a lower category than *taikyoku*.²⁷ It is only fitted for the *yō* of forms and sensible qualities, and does not serve for all the 'uses' or *yō* of *taikyoku*. It must therefore be classed in the lower category of 'utensils' or common instruments; but 'utensils' are also the 'way,' and the 'way' is also 'utensils' (thus is seen the original oneness of *in-yō* and *taikyoku*).²⁷ The substance and activity, the *tai* and *yō*, are inseparable, and are from one source; the apparent and the obscure have no boundary.²⁸

The above is a synopsis of Shūrenkei's *Taikyokudzusetsu*, and of Shushi's exposition of the diagram in it, and of his two supplementary remarks on the same subject. Where these are not clear, other of Shushi's writings have been consulted.

It will be evident that this interpretation of *taikyoku* is opposed to Shushi's own statements, that there is nothing

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所微爲學又然道之上而大也	之性大也	所性立者太
以蓋一體曰器形列下陰極	者不極	以理常極
爲即源而言亦而也之陽圖	善可圖	立大爲圖
無事也用理道下故列有說	自謂說	也全主辭
聞而言之則也爲程裁氣附	其有附	動朱焉曰
也理事理光道器子此則錄	陰二錄	者子則渾
之則已體亦須曰所亦曰	陽物曰	命曰人然
體光具而器着形以安大	變明夫	之靜極全
可顯是後也如而爲得極	化矣善	所者於體
見而所用此上道而無	而然之	以性是而
是後以蓋說爲器無象	言繼與	行之乎靜

called *taikyoku* which can be separated from *in-yo*, and that *taikyoku* is *ri*,—*taikyoku* is *ki*. Thus, in spite of his words quoted above, he says distinctly that the phrase, *taikyoku nishite mukyoku* means that there is extreme and ultimate *ri* in non-existence (that is beyond the existence known by form and phenomena), and that *mukyoku* means that there is no form, and *taikyoku* that there is *ri*,⁸⁰ etc. Hence arises the objection of Riku-Shozan, that Shushi makes non-existence the basis of the cosmos; and hence also the difference between Shushi and men like Ra-Seian⁸⁰ and Kaibara Ekiken, according to whom everything has a dual existence, (that is Existence itself and the Law of existence) neither *ri* nor *ki* exists by itself, and the existence of *ri* as an entity without form and phenomena is inadmissible. To conceive a thing without form and without sensible qualities to be in the state of motion and of rest, was no doubt the great difficulty for these men.

It is said that Shūrenkei got his diagram from one Boku-Hakuchō (穆伯長) and he from Chin-Kii (陳希夷), both of whom are said to have been followers of Laotse; although Shushi believed that the picture could not have been made by any philosopher less than Shūrenkei himself, and that therefore such stories are unworthy of credit.⁸¹ Again, it is said that Shūrenkei was a pupil of a Buddhist priest, Jugai

云々	生所	得誌	於此	也夫	特其	先生	來而	圖之	嘗饋	合之	乎其	以言	困知	極是	性理
	々々	自文	國政	以是	學之	非止	五峯	傳自	朱內	先各	爲物	合太	記曰	無之	大全
		作之	然以	生之	一師	爲種	胡氏	陳搏	輪震	安在	也果	極與	凡物	中有	朱子
		非有	後知	學又	耳非	種之	作序	種放	進易	耶	二則	陰陽	必兩	簡至	曰無
		受於	其果	觀之	何其	學至	者此	又爲	說簡		方其	果二	而後	極之	而大
		人者	光及	加者								物可	理大		

(壽涯), who lived in a temple called Kakurinji (涇州鶴林寺), near which a shrine of Shūrenkei used to stand, perhaps does so still.

It is also said that the pictures of *kato* (河圖) and *rakusho* (洛書), which Shushi brings forward in explaining the Classic Eki (Book of Changes), are an invention of this Chin-Kii. Indeed, Shushi himself says that the other four pictures he brings forward as the invention of the mythical *seijin*, Fukki (伏羲), were handed down to him through several people from this Chin-Kii. It is the almost undivided opinion of scholars that these four pictures also owe their origin to the inventive genius of Chin-Kii himself.

The ideas of *tai* and *yō* are said to be a borrowing from Buddhist writers. Even the language describing them is said to have been that used by Buddhists. *Mukyoku nishite taikyoku*, no 'ultimate (basis) and so the great ultimate,' is said to occur in a Buddhist book, Kegon-Hōkaikwan (華嚴法界觀). The two phrases, *tai-yō ichigen* (體用一源), 'substance and activity are from one source,' and *genbi mugen* (顯微無間), 'the apparent and the obscure have no boundary,' are said to occur in a Buddhist book, Kegon-Sō (華嚴疏). Certainly Shushi's language²² is often very much like that of Buddhist writings.²³ Making rest and quietness the ultimate goal of man and the mode by which this end is achieved, namely by entirely getting rid of desires, must at once bring to mind the perfect rest of Nirvāṇa. It is possible that Shūrenkei, the author of the diagram, meant more nearly what is conveyed by the literal translation of *taikyoku nishite mukyoku*, which is very much like Laotse's idea of existence being non-existence. The whole language

用有應司一經一歸歸 有而無義有而一大明本本生者序法裝 然所沖
不一群真法中對曰嚴 含有羅形已真虛靜已體身一曰界休 已萬漠
具法機性必凡體體經 容邊萬貌然之寂微米也心切法觀華 具象無
體無外內舉此用旨 萬際千而無境惟廣盡從之衆果門嚴 森朕

of Shūrenkei's text and Shushi's interpretation is mystical. Shushi goes into an explanation of the concentric semicircles found in Shūrenkei's text, and of the direction of the curved lines joining the circles representing the five elements, but it is difficult to say how far such explanations were meant to be taken as any part of rational philosophy.

THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

Ki is not essentially evil. When it is first produced it is quite free from defect. But *in* and *yō* entangling with each other, attracting and repelling each other, coming and going to and fro, rising up and falling down, ever since the beginning of the world, there is naturally produced flat and plain spots, and rugged and inclined spots, the good and bad portions of *ki*.⁸⁴ The different portions of *ki* are bright and dark, clear and turbid, pure and impure, free and obstructed, strong and weak, fine and coarse (in quality), good and bad, clever and foolish, thick and thin, deep and shallow, direct and oblique, resisting and yielding, quick and slow, etc. The inferior portions of *ki*, that is, portions which are either dark, turbid, impure, obstructed, weak, coarse, bad, thin, shallow, oblique, yielding, do not come under the control of *ri*. On the contrary, these inferior portions of *ki* restrain

語類問二氣相取相軌相合
相乖有平易處有傾側處自
然有善有惡故累氣形者有
惡有善何足恠語其本則無
不善也曰此却無過
又曰人所累之氣雖天地之
正氣但滾來滾去便有昏明
厚薄之異蓋氣是有形之物
才是有形之物便自有美有
惡
性理大全朱子曰二氣其始
固無不善然騰到今日則
其雜也久矣但其運行交錯
則其善惡却各自有會處此
上智下愚所以分也

the *sei* and render it bad and hurtful.⁸⁵ *Ki* is the active agent; and *ri*, which resides in it, becomes completely dependent on it. Desires, which prove so powerful in interfering with *sei*, are also from *ki*. Evil does not arise from *ki* not receiving *ri*, or from the absence of *ri*, but from *ri* becoming subjugated by the bad portions of *ki*. Although *ki* alone and not united to *sei* does not constitute the active man, it has yet the power to make even *sei* bad and hurtful. Evidently, therefore, evil is originally from *ki*, according to Shushi.

The Kogaku school's objection to Shushi rests on this point. They argue that since *ri* and *ki* are ever together, and since every property and every motion of *ki* has a reason (*ri*), there must be some kind of reason (*ri*) why *ki* is sometimes so bad, and why it should exert this interfering or restraining force upon *sei* (*ri*).

Now the way to restore the original state of *sei* is evidently by conquering one's selfish desires and modifying one's *kishitsu*.⁸⁶ Only when the *kishitsu* has been completely reformed,—so that no defect remains in it and all selfish desires have been completely rooted out of it, and thus the whole body has become completely under the control of *ri* and in unison with it,—then only is a man perfect. So great is the use of conquering desires, that should a man

理學類編問惡是氣稟程子
云亦不可謂之性何也朱
子曰既是氣稟惡便牽引那
性不好蓋性只是搭付在氣
上又曰性本善今乃惡亦是
爲氣所汨正如水爲泥沙所
混不可不喚作水
中庸章句曰呂氏曰君子所
以學者爲能變化氣質而已
德勝氣贊則愚者可進於明
柔者可進於強不能勝之則
雖有志於學亦愚不明柔不
能立矣
論語集註曰日克之(私欲)
不以爲難則私欲淨盡天理
流行而仁不可勝用矣

attain to this state of perfection he would convert the world.⁵⁷ Although the Teishu school encourage the study of *ri* in all things as the means of understanding *ri*, this study of things is to be done only by contemplation and can end only in contemplation. It is taught that if a man persistently endeavour to understand *ri*, there will come a time when the reason of everything will be clear.⁵⁸ And farther, that man's planning and scheming are injurious to the attainment of good. As all study about the *ri* of things is vain when one's heart is ruled by desires, the first object must be the getting rid of desires. Such a doctrine is very nearly identical with the teachings of Buddhism, whose characteristic way to freedom from doubt and heresy lies through freedom from impurity and from evil longings of all kinds.

KISHITSU NO SEI.

As my statement that *kishitsu no sei*, although affected by *ki*, is originally only from *ri*, and that its distinctness from *honne no sei* cannot be maintained in detailed application, may present difficulty to some, I will give here a few words in explanation. *Kishitsu no sei* being used for man's actual present nature, it should logically be a combination of *ki* and *ri*, yet Shushi maintains that it is from *ri*, and still remains as such. He says *kishitsu no sei* is *tenchi no sei* (*honne no sei*), and that if it is not from *tenchi no sei* then it loses all foundation.⁵⁹ He teaches that *sei*, though affected

不性又底地天語則又少之語此大無焉之大也言天又	
從亦曰性之地類善曰計間類謂用不則久學其下曰	
這只性性之曰得靜較動曰知無到衆而章效之一	
裡是只却性氣來坐如多今之不而物一句之人日	
出從是從只質條無何少說至明吾之旦曰甚皆克	
有這理那是之暢開得思性也此心表歸至達與已	
甚裡氣裏這性雜善處善謂之裏然於而其復	
歸出質過箇便思萌一物全精實用至仁體	
着若之好天是處多日格體粗通力大極則	

and modified by *ki*, still remains as *sei*, and does not form a combination, or a third existence, in which both *ki* and *ri* would be originally present. He teaches that the modifying effect of *ki* is not so deep-going as essentially to modify the *sei*, or that *ki* does not enter into the constitution of *kishitsu no sei*. *Sei* remains as *sei*, and *ki* remains as *ki*; ⁴⁰ hence the name of *kishitsu no sei*. The modifying action of *ki* is a force applied externally. Its effect is only on the surface. Thus, Shushi illustrates the state of existence of *sei* in *kishitsu* by glowing charcoal imbedded in ash, the dulling of a mirror on the surface, the bright sun veiled in mist, a brilliant jewel in turbid water, etc. *Kishitsu no sei* is *sei (ri)* existing within *kishitsu (ki)*. *Honnen no sei* is the real, transcendent, formless state of *sei*.

Shushi's *kishitsu no sei* is something like an Englishman settled among Japanese: he must become modified or affected in thought and manners by Japanese surroundings (for as Shushi says, *ki* is strong, *ri* is weak); but he does not therefore become a combination of English and Japanese: his blood is free from mixture. Take away the influence of Japanese associations and he will be again the pure Englishman. The union of *sei* and *kishitsu* is something like marriage between the two. It is not the becoming one individual. Hence the objections of men like Kaibara Ekiken to Shushi's division of *sei* into the two classes; for these men see the difficulty in determining where *honnen no sei* itself exists, since it becomes *kishitsu no sei* so soon as it exists in *ki*. ⁴¹

When we come to the application of this division of *sei*, Shushi says "*sei* is originally good but is made impure by

分之性然受性性何苟氣之之之分有古大 不性然其性氣氣又
而性亦則天亦乎處非質性性折一今疑 相自氣方却有已曰
爲耳是氣地置氣稟氣之亦其與於性之錄 夾是自在常不有未
二不天質者非質受質稟置天氣天不人曰 雜性是氣在存此有
可地之耶所之天則乎非地實地要只蓋 亦氣中雖而性此

ki. This is like water made turbid by mud, which must still be called water." Because the Teishu school maintain that *sei*, when influenced and modified by *kishitsu*, still remains *sei*, and do not recognise that *kishitsu no sei* is a combination of *ri* and *ki*, therefore they are forced to make such strange statements as that '*sei* is *ki*,' '*ki* is *sei*,' and Evil must also be *sei*.⁴³

HEAVEN.

Although Shushi says repeatedly that Heaven is but *ri*, yet he makes statements that cannot be understood without some kind of Supreme Being existing. For instance, though Heaven does not see and hear directly, it is said to see and hear through men's hearts.⁴³ Again when a king is very tyrannical to his people, Heaven decides whether he should remain as king or not. So long as it is Heaven's order that he shall remain as king, the people must respect and obey him, but on the day when this order is reversed the tyrant king loses all claim to be longer a king. A righteous subject has now right to dethrone him and to become king himself in his stead, provided the whole nation be rejoiced at this change. Whether Heaven approves or not of such a change is known through people's hearts.⁴⁴ When people are rejoiced at the fall of the old king and the election of the

民而然是容孟如皆孟也	固自物有即程不氣性
心已命君髮子此從子	性如相善性可所本
民趙之臣一集則於集	然而爵惡生曰不汨善
心氏絕當日註天民注	惡惡而然之生嘆正今
悅曰否日之張與之曰	亦是生不謂之作如乃
則征何命聞子之視天	不氣也是也謂水水惡
天代以絕天曰可聽無	可稟有性人性為亦
意之知則命此知民形	不有幼中生性泥是
得道之爲未事矣之其	謂然而元氣即沙此
矣當人獨絕間歸視	之也善有稟氣所性
順情夫則不聲聽	性善有兩理氣混爲

new, Heaven's mind is satisfied at the change. Heaven here and elsewhere, is made to have both heart and mind. It is the heart of Heaven and Earth that everything should grow up and multiply.⁴⁵ Shushi said indeed that there is no personal God who literally appoints, protects, etc., as written in the Classics. But elsewhere he asserts that to say there is no Lord (主宰) in Heaven is wrong;⁴⁶ and in spite of his explaining away the words in the Classics as being metaphors, he himself takes special care to use such phrases as that 'Heaven let the human race down (on earth); Heaven appointed the *seijins* to govern and teach the people how to recover the original state of their *sei*, etc.;⁴⁷ Heaven gives, man receives; and so forth, when it would have been very easy to avoid such phrases and use others not liable to mislead. He says the word 'Heaven' in the Classics means sometimes the blue heaven, sometimes the Lord, and sometimes simply *ri*,⁴⁸ and it is therefore clear that it to him does not always mean *ri*. But it would appear from his writings that there are also these three meanings for Heaven in Shushi's own use of the word. All this seems to show that he had a vague idea of something presiding over the world, (in his language, *shusai* 'Lord'), who is a kind of First Cause, and prior to *taikyoku*. There is a possibility that Shushi

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46 45

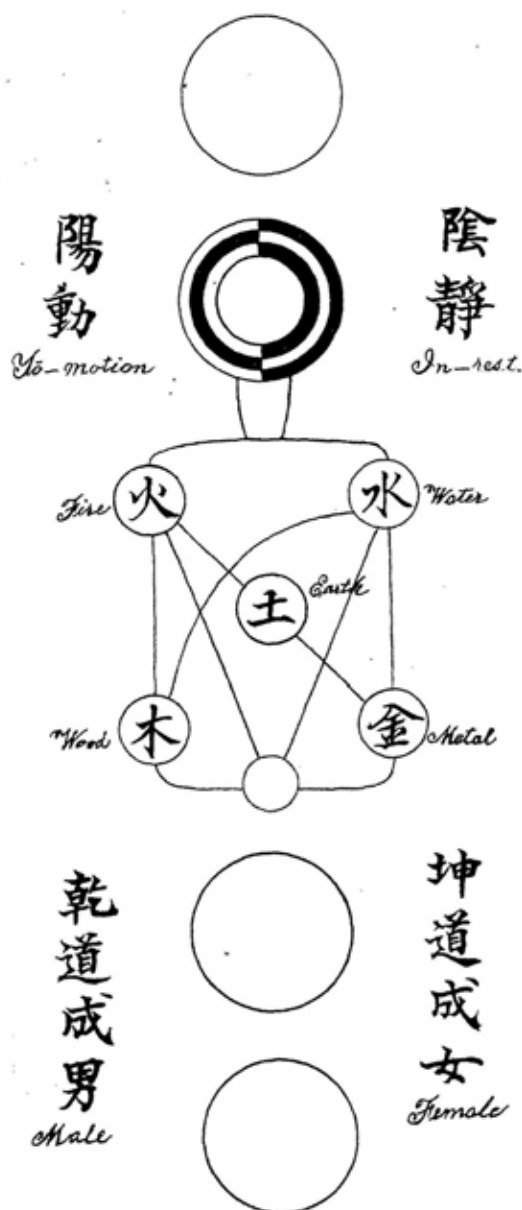
說者	語極	神治	必能	大之	則大	達可	箇不	語孟
主得	類	農而	命盡	學性	既學	裏說	人已	類子
宰分	問	貴教	之其	章矣	莫章	要過	在便	若集
者晚	經	帝之	以性	句	不句	人全	那是	々註
也也	傳	堯以	億者	序	與序	見無	裏那	之天
有有	中	舜復	兆出	一	之筮	得主	批箇	謂地
單說	天	所其	之於	有	以自	之判	而天	以
訓蒼	字	以性	君其	聰	仁天	者罪	今運	生
理々	曰	繼此	師聞	明	義降	又惡	說博	物
時者	要	天伏	使則	磨	體生	不固	天周	爲
有人		立義	之天	智	智民	可不	有諫	心

used such language in order not to raise the prejudice of the popular belief. But this supposition is difficult to accept, because Buddhism, which does not recognise any true Creator, was accepted by the multitude in Shushi's time. The only likely explanation is that he was trying to reconcile his teachings with the writings of the Classics, whose language evidently assumed the existence of a Supreme Being. No doubt he made every effort to smooth away the differences between the Classics and his own teachings.

The world is destroyed periodically after a certain great number of years, when men become hopelessly wicked, and then a new world begins again; but Shushi is not clear whether each world begins spontaneously, or whether worlds succeed each other, the first having been started by some Cause. In this matter the Teishu school strongly resemble the Buddhists, who teach that the world is periodically destroyed by water, fire, or wind, and a new world begins again. Yet it is not strictly a new world, for the beings in the new world are a kind of continuation of those who lived in the preceding world.

太極圖

*Tai Kyoku
Diagram.*



生化物萬

Generation of all kinds of Things.



CHÔMEI AND WORDSWORTH : A LITERARY PARALLEL.

BY J. M. DIXON, M. A., F. R. S. E.

[Read, Feb. 10, 1892].

There are few countries upon which nature has lavished so much beauty as Japan, and her inhabitants have not shown themselves heedless of their privileges. In the domain of art the beauties of nature have been reproduced by Japanese artists in a way that has delighted the world, and effected a revolution in Western ideas of what constitutes beauty in ornament. In the domain of literature the Japanese have shown less power and originality. If the inhabitants of Europe have been fettered by conventionality in expression, this has been still more the case in Japan. It may be said with truth that except in a small department of composition, having an affinity with our sonnet,¹ they have furnished nothing new or fresh in the realm of literature. But still we should expect to find a certain amount of truthful utterance respecting the aspects of nature, such as we find in English poetry since the time of Cowper. Before Cowper's time classical and Hebraic influences had been too strong in Europe for the growth of what we might call in a restricted sense "natural religion." A recluse in European countries,

¹ 'The beautiful rhymeless short ode of Japanese poetry, for the knowledge of which we are indebted to Mr. Chamberlain.'—Theodore Watts on the *Sonnet* in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed.

till Rousseau took up his abode on St. Peter's isle in the Lake of Brienne, was always a religious devotee, a man of introspective habits who retired from the world to make up his account with his Maker. This habit of theological introspection, it is true, is absent in our Elizabethan poets, but then classical traditions were all powerful in their interpretation of nature. Shakespeare's world is not simple outside nature as he saw it, but a world semi-Italian in its ideas and vocabulary. The prettiest song which he wrote is the sevenade in *Cymbeline*; and it opens with a classical conceit:—

Hark ! hark the lark at heaven's gate sings,
 And Phœbus 'gins arise
 His steeds to water at those springs
 On chaliced flowers that lies ;
 And winking Mary-buds begin
 To ope their wondering eyes :
 With everything that pretty is, my lady sweet, arise ;
 Arise, arise !

It was Wordsworth's mission in English poetry to remove this foreign element of nature interpretation, and with a mind wholly receptive to study nature at first-hand and record the impressions which his mind received. He wished as much as possible to be a child again, and with this view he ran a tilt against theological dogmas like that of Original Sin which seemed to him to cast a slur upon nature. He thus ignored in his treatment of the world the problems of sin and atonement, and brought himself in touch with all such as, in any land and conforming to any religion, sought to enjoy the works of the great Creator. When, therefore, we find a Japanese literary character of the 12th century retiring to the hills and seeking to find communion with the mountains, the streams, with animate and inanimate life, we at once think of contrasting him with our high-priest of nature. This is why I have linked together Chômei and the bard of Rydal Mount. Both were recluses ; both were devout admirers of nature, and receptive in their attitude towards

her. Chōmei, the son of a priest in the province of Yamashiro, was born in the middle of the 12th century. Disappointed in his hopes of worldly promotion, he sought retirement in the sequestered village of Ohara. Afterwards he became for a time the guest of Sanetomo at Kamakura, but again withdrew from the world, passing the remainder of his life in the province of Etchū. He is highly esteemed as a poet, and many of his pieces are popular. The passage offered in translation gives a very fair example of his philosophy and style. Though a good Buddhist, he does not seem to have been in any way a devotee, but rather to have mildly conformed with the requirements of that religion, whose tenets were no doubt congenial to him. In one passage of the extract occurs a reference to sin, the appearance of snow suggesting to him sins which accumulate and then vanish away. To Christians the reference at once recalls the passage in Isaiah in which the promise is made that "sins which are as scarlet shall be made white as snow." But there seems little beyond a surface connection between the two statements. According to the Buddhist creed, sins are washed away by devotion, by prayer, and by good deeds. Chōmei confesses that he was lax in attending to the rites of his religion; certainly Wordsworth was the reverse of punctilious in these matters. Both of them seem to have found their chief delight in studying the varying aspects of nature. But Wordsworth's attitude towards society was infinitely more sympathetic and kindly, while in the background of his solitary walks and musings among the hills were an affectionate household and the realization of all that is most delightful in home life. No doubt he was out of touch with town life, and disliked the din and rush of the city, but he was not indifferent to the sufferings and struggles of humanity and would have rejected the callous indifference of Chōmei as animalistic. Many of Chōmei's moral musings, indeed, remind us strongly of the sentimentalism of a mock-antique balled like *Edwin and Angelina* :—

Alas ! the joys that fortune brings
Are trifling and decay,
And those who prize the paltry things
More trifling still than they :
And what is friendship but a name,
A charm that lulls to sleep—
A shade that follows wealth or fame,
But leaves the wretch to weep.

The sentimentalism in each case is shallow and unsatisfactory, the misanthropy is a temporary phase of mind, the result of pique. "Life," says Chōmei; "is empty as the cast-off shell of a cicada." Here he speaks not as a philosopher but as a disappointed man of the world. His blood does not grow richer and warmer by his secluded life among the hills; it seems to grow thinner and colder, and his whole being looks forward to the happiness of a mere passivity. It is not the gladness that accompanied the development of Wordsworth's life, spent also avowedly in conformity with nature, and with a desire to prove as receptive as possible to its influences. On his sixty-third birthday Wordsworth writes in a different strain from Chōmei, very at nearly the same age :

Teach me with quick-eared spirit to rejoice
In admonitions of Thy softest voice !
Whate'er the paths these mortal feet may trace
Breathe through my soul the blessing of Thy grace,
Glad, through a perfect love, a faith sincere
Drawn from the wisdom that begins with fear,
Glad to expand.

This last phrase seems to sum up the whole divergence. Wordsworth's life among the hills was a life of yearly expansion : Chōmei's was confessedly spent in a contraction that was finally to end in absorption in the Infinite. Self was to the latter a "floating cloud," a "drop of dew," soon to melt in the infinite and be heard of no more. The ideal of

his solitary life was tranquillity, the absence of worry, offence, and anxiety. He refrains from all attempts to proselytize, or preach to others. "These remarks of mine," says he, commenting upon the satisfaction he finds in living so simple a life, "these remarks are not intended as a sermon addressed to the well-to-do." Here comes in the national indifferentism which so often strikes the Western mind as strange, and which, though pleasing at first because of its inoffensiveness, is in the end irritating from its complete lack of moral glow and strength and warmth. We are reminded of the old question of Cain; "Am I my brother's keeper?" It is the æsthetic as distinguished from the religious frame of mind. Now, Wordsworth is not an indifferentist, but has always a didactic aim more or less in view. At the close of the *Prelude* addressing Coleridge, he writes:—

Prophets of nature, we to them (the nations) will
speak

A lasting inspiration, sanctified
By reason, blest by faith : what we have loved,
Others will love and we will teach them how ;
Instruct them how the mind of man becomes
A thousand times more beautiful than the Earth
On which he dwells.

No indifferentism is to be found in an utterance like this. Again, in Chōmei's attitude to flowers and trees, we find an affinity to the ways of the modern æsthete, pleased with the hue or curve of a bough or blossom. "On my way home from the moor of Amazu," he remarks, "I am frequently rewarded by finding a choice bough of cherry or maple or a cluster of fruit, which I offer to Buddha or reserve for my own use." Was Cain's offering of a similar gift to Jehovah rejected purely because of the mental attitude of the giver, or because of the nature of the gift? Is there any underlying moral in the Bible story? Can culled flowers and fruits be made to speak the language of moral truth?

Or is their mission in this respect limited to the department of æstheticism? It is certain that Wordsworth had a repugnance to the plucking of flowers and twigs, as if it were a kind of sacrilege:—

Then up I rose
And dragged to earth both branch and bough, with
crash
And merciless ravage: and the shady nook
Of hazels, and the green and mossy bower,
Deformed and sullied, patiently gave up
Their quiet being.

The remembrance struck him afterwards with pain, and he proceeds to advise his daughter to leave such scenes in peace:—

Then, dearest Maiden, move along these shades
In gentleness of heart; with gentle hand
Touch—for there is a spirit in the woods,

The beauty of a creature is, so to speak, its own, and is independent of locality, while the beauty of the vegetable world belongs to the creative spirit of the Universe. Here comes in the Pantheism of Wordsworth, a Pantheism strictly conservative of the individual as a free agent, and dealing directly with the world of things. It was a protest against an irreverent attitude towards mountains, groves, and brooks, all of which silently interpret the mind of their Creator, if we will but read the lesson:—

One impulse from a vernal wood
Will teach us more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.

It will be found that, when Wordsworth uses the objects of the vegetable or inanimate creation for a poetical purpose, they are never dissevered from their surroundings. It is the "*primrose by the river's brim*"; "*the meanest flower that blows*".

A host of golden daffodils,
 Beside the lake, beneath the trees,
 Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.
 Or, when he talks of the modest Celandine :—
 Thou dost show thy pleasant face
 On the moor, and in the wood,
 In the lane—there's not a place,
 Howsoever mean it be
 But 'tis good enough for thee.

The west, both to Chōmei and to Wordsworth, was a quarter from which came comfort in meditation. The valley in which the Japanese sage lived opened out, he remarks, to the west, the home of the happy, whence comfort came to him in his meditations. To Chōmei it was a mild influence, significant of complete rest hereafter, when his soul would be lost in the infinite; while Wordsworth refers to it as a goal, whither he is travelling and where possibly will be granted a larger and a fuller life :—

Stepping westward seemed to be
 A kind of heavenly destiny ;
 I liked the greeting ; 'twas a sound
 Of something without place or bound ;
 And seemed to give me spiritual right
 To travel through that region bright.
 The voice was soft, and she who spake
 Was walking by her native lake :
 The salutation had to me
 The very sound of courtesy :
 Its power was felt ; and while my eye
 Was fixed upon the glowing Sky,
 The echo of the voice enwrought
 A human sweetness with the thought
 Of travelling through the world that lay
 Before me in my endless way.

It will be observed in the extract that Chōmei refers to the cuckoo as having a mournful note. In this concep-

tion of the bird he follows the Chinese tradition, for in Chinese poetry it is always spoken of as having a sad and mournful cry. There is a transmigration story in Chinese literature, which makes the Emperor Bō of Shoku turn into a cuckoo after death, whence its Chinese name of Bō-tei. According to another tradition it tears its mouth in crying and blood issues forth, whence a second name given to the bird, *Tei-ketsu* or "Wailing-at-blood." Japanese writers have not clung to this foreign conception of the cuckoo, but, on the contrary, are loud in singing its praises as a herald of joy. In one of his poems Chōmei himself speaks of it as a pleasant visitant, much in the manner of Michael Bruce (or John Logan ?)—"I was struck dumb with pleasure for a few minutes after hearing the cuckoo's note, sounding for the first time in the year."

The bird is also credited with cherishing deep love for its mate, and the fact that it does not hatch its young is frequently commented upon. In Japanese poetry we find it usually associated with the moon, the *Tachibana* or orange shrub, with rain, with clouds, and with the *Uyonohana* (*Dendzia Scrabra*). Several of the valleys in the neighbourhood of Kyōto, where the bird is rare, were noted for its song, and thither parties used to go when spring-time returned to enjoy the luxury of hearing its notes.

In Mr. Chamberlain's delightful volume, *Japanese Classical Poetry*, two lyrics culled from the *Manyefushifu* (*Manyōshū*) will be found, which address the cuckoo in the most friendly terms :—

Though through the livelong day
 Soundeth thy roundelay,
 Never its accents may
 Pall on my ear :
 Come, take a bribe of me !
 Ne'er to far regions flee :
 Dwell on mine orange tree,

Cuckoo so dear ! (p. 95.)

The above is anonymous. A few pages further on occurs the second lyric, written by Hironoha, and bearing the date, A. D. 750 :

Near to the valley stands my humble cot,
 The village nestles 'neath the cooling shade
 Of lofty timber ; but the silent glade
 Not yet re-echoes with the cuckoo's note.
 The morning hour e'er finds me, sweetest bird !
 Before my gate ; and, when the day doth pale,
 I cast a wistful glance adown the vale ;
 But e'en one note, alas ! not yet is heard,
 (p. 113.)

Still again, among the *Short Stanzas*, (p. 119) in a piece attributed to Hitomaro, the cuckoo is associated with the wisteria as representative of early summer :—

In blossoms the wisteria-tree to-day
 Breaks forth, that sweep the wavelets of my lake :
 When will the mountain cuckoo come and make
 The garden vocal with his first sweet lay ?

This is far from the Chinese mythological and classical-Japanese notion, which makes the bird a herald of death and dissolution, whose note summons a soul to begin the ascent of the mountain of death. The same struggle is noticeable in English poetry between an unpleasing foreign and a pleasant indigenous conception of the cuckoo. Readers of Horace will remember the passage in the first Book of his *Satires* (VII, 31), where, in a street encounter, a passer by calls a rustic, *cuculum* that is, "lazy lubber," by way of contempt² :—

Magna compellans voce cuculum.

In Drayton we discover this South-European conception, which had come to him through Italian literature :—

"No nation names the cuckoo but in scorn,"

² Compare the modern Scotch *gowk* = 'stupid fellow.'

It was regarded as a type of selfishness and of unwarranted intrusion into domestic privacy and harmony. The coarse allusions to the cuckoo as an adulterous bird, so common in Elizabethan poetry, die out in the XVIIIth century. The term "cuckold," used contemptuously for *weakling*, lingered on, and is perhaps last to be met with in Burns's drinking song, *Willie Brewed a Peck o' Maut*. A recent editor of a book of college songs has been censured for reproducing the term :—

Wha first shall rise to gang awa.
A cuckold, coward loon is he !

Milton in his first sonnet names it 'rude bird of hate'—he calls upon the nightingale to sing :—

Now timely sing, ere the rude bird of hate
Foretell my hapless doom in some grove nigh.

In another sonnet he classes it contemptuously with asses, apes, and dogs, animals which have a harsh and displeasing cry :—

When straight a barbarous noise environs me
Of owls and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs.

John Bunyan likewise treats the cuckoo very disparagingly, blaming it because it is neither the first to welcome our spring, nor bring us its first tokens. He calls it a "yawling-bawling cuckoo" :—

' And since, while here, she only makes a noise
So pleasing unto none as girls and boys,
The Formalist we may compare her to,
For he doth suck our eggs and sing "Cuckoo" !

It must be remembered that the earlier English conception of the bird, like our later and present attitude towards it, is altogether different, being thoroughly friendly. The first English song set to musical notes addresses the cuckoo as a cheerful bird, the messenger of spring :

Summer is y-comen in,
 Loud sing, cuckoo :
 Groweth seed
 And bloometh mead
 And spring'th the wood now :
 Sing, cuckoo.
 * * *
 Merry sing, cuckoo !
 Cuckoo, cuckoo !
 Well sing thou, cuckoo !
 Nor cease thou never now.

The poets of the XVIIIth century reverted to this earlier attitude :—

Sweet bird, thy bower is ever green,
 Thy sky is ever clear,
 Thou hast no sorrow in thy song,
 No winter in thy year !

This freshest and brightest of XVIIIth century lyrics, originally published by Logan in 1770, is now generally ascribed to his friend Michael Bruce. This lyric is a landmark in English poetry, the bugle-note of a new era. Its influence on Wordsworth was undoubted. That a poet should dare to address seriously so commonplace a thing as a cuckoo, *Scottice* "gowk," otherwise "fool," was a new thing in polite literature. Here we establish a community with the nature lovers of old Japan, who made excursions to the green valleys of Yamato that they might listen to the cuckoo's voice. It is a noticeable fact that Miss Wordsworth, in her life of her relative, brings in his attitude towards the cuckoo as illustrative of his treatment of nature. While Tennyson, speaking of the bird, uses the language of mere sensation :—

The cuckoo told his name to all the hills,
 Wordsworth speaks in the language of ideas,
 O cuckoo, shall I call thee bird,
 Or but a wandering voice ?

Our present attitude toward the bird may be summed up in the lines of a recent contributor to the *London Spectator*; and it will be seen how closely this attitude approaches that of the Japanese, as unaffected by Chinese influences:—

Forbid the solace of home to know,
 Or dutiful ministry's crowning grace,—
 Some twist primeval has hardened so
 In the long career of a vagrant race;
 Though he build no timely nest,
 Or semblance of a nest,
 In the way admired and best,
 His lay enchains the ear
 With an elfin power to cheer,—
 Cuckoo! cuckoo! cuckoo! cuckoo!

Note.—The Japanese cuckoo, of which there are four varieties, is migratory like the European bird. These sub-orders are:—

CUCULUS CANORUS, L. (Common Cuckoo)—Kakko, Ômushikni; CUCULUS INTERMEDIUS, Vahl. (Himalayan Cuckoo)—Tsutsndori, Ponpondori; CUCULUS POLIOCEPHALUS, Lath. (Little Cuckoo)—Hototogisu, Tokiwadōri, Imosedori; CUCULUS HYPERYTHRUS, Gld. (Amoor Cuckoo)—(wintering in China and the Philippines) Jyu-ichi, Jilishinchō. Of these the third variety is undoubtedly the poets' favourite. It is relieved to deposit its eggs in the nest of the *Uguisu* (*Cettia cantans*) or Japanese nightingale. The Common Cuckoo makes use of the nest of the Japanese Bunting (*Hōjiro*). Our English cuckoo lays its eggs in the nest of the wagtail, which makes an affectionate foster-mother; and also in the hedge-sparrow's nest. The words of the Fool in *Lear* will be remembered:—

The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long
 That it had its head bit off by its young.

A DESCRIPTION OF MY HUT.¹

By J. M. DIXON.

[*Read February 10, 1892.*]

NOTE.—For the original draft of this translation, as well as for much valuable assistance in the explanation of details in the translation and in the introduction, I must acknowledge my great indebtedness to Mr. K. Natsume, a student of English Literature in the Imperial University.

The water incessantly changes as the stream glides calmly on ; the spray that hangs over a cataract appears for a moment only to vanish away. Such is the fate of mankind on this earth and of the houses in which they dwell. If we gaze at a mighty town we behold a succession of walls, surmounted by tiled roofs which vie with one another in loftiness. These have been from generation to generation the abodes of the rich and of the poor, and

¹ The Japanese title is *Hojo-ki*. The term *Hojo* literally signifies ten-feet-square and occurs first in a Buddhist work, the *Uima-Hyo*, where Uima is said to have collected a vast audience in a room which was only a *hojo*. The term came to be used for a priest's hut, then, as is so common in Japanese phraseology, for the priest himself. The term is frequently met with in the literature of the Tokugawa times as applying to the old rector or keeper of a Buddhist temple.

yet none resist the destructive influence of time. Some are allowed to fall into decay ; others are replaced by new structures. Their fate is shared by their inmates. If, after the lapse of a long period, we return to a familiar locality, we scarcely recognize one in ten of the faces we were accustomed to meet long ago. In the morning we behold the light, and next evening we depart for our long home. Our destiny resembles the foam on the water. Whence came we and whither are we tending? What things vex us, what things delight us, in this world of unreality? It is impossible, truly, to say. A house and its occupant, changing perpetually, may well be compared to a morning-glory flecked with dew. Sometimes it happens that the dew evaporates and leaves the flower to die in the first glare of day ; sometimes the dew survives the flower, but only for a few hours ; before sunset the dew also has disappeared.

During my two-score years of existence I have been fortunate enough to witness several notable spectacles. On the 28th day of April in the third year of Angen (1177), during a night of wind and storm, a fire broke out at eight o'clock in the evening in the south-eastern part of the capital,¹ and spread rapidly in a north-western direction. One portion of the palace buildings, with the Official College and the Home office, were before morning reduced to ashes. The conflagration was supposed to have had its rise in a temporary structure used as a hospital, and to have spread from this quarter northwards in the form of an open fan. Cloaking the distant houses in smoke, it licked the intervening ground with greedy tongues of flame. The sparks, dispersed aloft, and of dazzling brightness, illumined the sky for miles around. Amidst this ruddy chaos, the flames might be seen, urged on by the wind, leaping over whole blocks at a time, and finding a lodgment in a new quarter. The inhabitants ran hither and thither in a state of dis-

¹ Kyōto.

traction. Some fell down insensible, choked by the smoke; others perished in the flames. Such as had the good fortune to escape with their lives lost all their property. An incalculable amount of treasure and of wealth was destroyed. Thousands of people and an immense number of cattle fell victims to this merciless conflagration. Surely it is futile for a human being to expect immunity from harm in so dangerous a spot as a city!

My next experience was also remarkable. On the 29th of February in the 4th year of Jisho (1180), a whirlwind arose in Kyogoku,¹ and drove on with terrible fury towards Rokujo.¹ Travelling three or four hundred yards in every gust, it wrecked all the houses that lay in its path. Some were thrown flat on the ground; others were unroofed and left standing with only the bare posts remaining. The roofs of gates were blown off, fences were broken down, and landmarks swept away. Articles of furniture were whirled up into the sky, and the straw and bark which formed the roofing of houses were scattered through the air like the leaves of autumn. A blinding dust, thick as smoke, filled the air, and the noise of the elements drowned all human utterance, reminding one of the wind called *go*,² which, at the end of the world, will sweep every thing before it. Surely, thought I, this visitation comes to us as a warning from the Unseen. (Here follows an account of the removal of the capital to Settsu in 1180, of the famine year, 1181, followed by pestilence, and of the earthquake in the second year of Genreki 1185).

Such are the woes that meet us on earth, so fleeting is life, so unstable are the habitations of men. Still greater is the discomfort we undergo through the constraints of social bonds. Those who enjoy the favour of the great may for a short season be steeped in pleasure, but they cannot attain permanent happiness. Forcing back their tears, they fre-

¹ Districts in Kyoto. ² A Buddhist tradition.

quently counterfeit a careless smile, though always restless in demeanour. Like a sparrow close to an eagle's nest, they live in a state of continual fear. The poor, on the contrary, are the slaves of their wretched condition; they are forced to look upon the impotent envy of their wives and children; they must pocket the insults of their rich neighbours; they are denied even a moment's peace of mind. Such, again, as dwell near crowded thoroughfares are unable to escape the fury of configurations; but let them remove to the country and they will suffer the inconveniences of bad roads, not to speak of occasional visits from burglars. A strong man knows no contentment, a weak man is the object of scorn; to heap up wealth is merely to add so much to our cares; poverty and distress go hand in hand; dependence on others makes us their slaves; charity imposes fetters of affection on the mind. To act exactly as others do is intolerable; to pursue a wholly independent course seems to be madness. In what spot shall we find a resting-place, and what occupation will furnish distraction to our mind?

For long I lived on a property which I had inherited from my paternal grandmother. Having, however, lost my family, and passed through a series of misfortunes which left me weakened in body, I was at length compelled to leave my ancestral home, and at the age of thirty to take up my abode in the solitude of a hut, scarcely more than one-tenth the size of my former residence. It consisted of but one room, and was not a house in the ordinary acceptation of the term. A wall surrounded the enclosure in which it stood, but I could not afford a gate. The posts of the carriage shed were of simple bamboo. In a heavy gale or in a snow storm the hut ran great danger of being swept bodily away, or of being crushed under the superincumbent weight of snow. Moreover, as it stood close to the banks of a river, a flood might easily engulf it. Living in this uninviting abode for thirty years, I at length fell a prey to dejection. I had leisure to muse on the vicissitudes of human life and on the fickleness of

fortune. At length I formed the resolution of quitting the hut and the world together. I was bound by no family ties and could feel no yearning towards what I had left; being no pensioner, why should I long for my former position? And so I migrated to the hills, and spent many springs and summers on the cloudy heights of Mt. Ohara.

The dew of sixty years that was on the point of vanishing, crystallized afresh on a tiny leaf. My new habitation is small even when compared with its tiny predecessor, and might be likened to a night's shelter for a belated traveller, or to the cocoon which encloses an old silkworm. My life is slowly declining and my fortunes ebb with it. In structure the dwelling resembles no ordinary house. The single room measures ten feet by ten, and seven feet high. It occupies no permanent site, as I have felt little inclination to settle in any one place. The floor is of clay, the roof is of thatch, the boards are fastened together with hooks for ease of transportation. Were I to change my home, what expense should I incur? Two carts are sufficient to carry the whole structure. Only the slight price of the hire of these, nothing more!

Secluded in the innermost recesses of Hino, I have added a few conveniences to my hut. On the southern side I have hung a temporary curtain, with a bamboo mat under it; on the western wall a shelf has become the sacred receptacle for the image of Buddha, where his brow may catch the brightness of the western sun. On each of the two door leaves I have hung a picture—one of Hugen, the other of Hudō. Above the lintel of the northern door I have fastened a shelf, on which are placed several black leather boxes containing literary papers, Japanese songs, *ōjio-yoshū*¹ and the like. Close by, leaning against the wall, are a *koto* and a *biwa*, to which I have given the names of *Origoto* and

¹ A Buddhistic manual, in two volumes, written in Japanese (not Sinico-Japanese).

Tsugi-biwa, respectively. On the eastern side is my bed, consisting of a mass of ferns on a straw mat. Beside it, and close by the window, stands my writing-desk and a brazier, and these, with a pillow, complete the furnishing. To the north of the hut lies my garden, a small patch enclosed by a broken hedge and containing a selection of medicinal plants. South of the house a pipe conducts water to a reservoir which I have constructed of stones. The near vicinity of the well-wooded Toyama, with its vine-clad slopes, provides me with sufficiency of fruit and of fuel. The valley, though dark with thick underwood, opens to the west, the home of the blessed, thereby offering much help to my meditations.¹ In spring I gaze on the purple clusters of the wistaria, which hang in wavy profusion all around. The mournful note of the cuckoo ushers in the summer, and puts me in mind of my latter end. With autumn comes the shrill chirrup of the cicadas, which I interpret as a dirge for life, empty as their cast-off shells. Snow has an attraction for me, because it seems to symbolize human sin, which increases in depth and then melts away. When indisposed I frequently fail to perform my devotions or to read the sacred books, and no one can call me to account for the omission. Nor have I any friend in whose presence I can feel ashamed when neglectful of my duties. The discipline of silence,² towards which I have no special inclination, I perforce observe, having no friend to tempt me to chatter. Being out of the reach of temptation, I run no risk of breaking the canons of Buddhism. When in the morning I happen to come to the river's margin, and watch the vessels plying up and down, I feel that my frame of mind and my position exactly resemble Manshami's.³ Again, when the wind

¹ The west is, to Buddhists, associated with *Gokuraku*, the land of beatitude, whither good men go after death. ² Imposed upon Buddhist priests, as on the Trappist monks of Europe. ³ Manshami is a character in the *Manyōshū*.

rustles among the cinnamon leaves, I call to mind the scene in Junyo Bay, in the Junyoko off Hakurakuten, and begin playing on the *biwa* in imitation of Cinnamon Dainagon.¹ I have no special musical skill, but then there is no one to criticize my efforts; I sing to myself, and thrum for myself, merely as a mental relaxation.

At the mountain foot stands a small cottage, in which dwells the keeper of the mountain. His boy now and then pays me a visit and accompanies me on leisurely strolls. Though he is but sixteen and I am sixty, the difference in our ages makes no difference in the pleasures which we mutually share. We collect cranberries, gather *kaya* flowers, fill our baskets with mountain-potatoes, pick parsley, or weave mats from the fallen corn-stalks. When the weather is fine I ascend the mountain peaks to gaze from afar on my native district, and to revel in the beauty of the surrounding scenery. Of this delight I cannot be deprived, as nature is not the private property of any individual. And I often go on long excursions, over Sumiyama, and past Kasadori, visiting the shrine of Iwama, or making a pilgrimage to Ishiyama. Sometimes I go as far as the moor of Awazu, where are the ruins of old Seminaru's cottage, or linger by the grave of Sarumarudai, beyond the Tagami river. On my way home I am frequently rewarded by finding a choice bough of cherry or maple, or a bunch of ferns, or a cluster of fruit, which I offer to Buddha or reserve for my own use. A "bright moon on a calm night recalls to me the men of old; the cries of monkeys affect me to tears:"²

¹ A famous *biwa* player who flourished at the close of the XIth. century. ² The poems of Tōhō, in the period of Fūkyō, first refer to the chattering of monkeys as pitiful. The following is from O'Shōrei, a contemporary of Tōhō's, who flourished in the eighth century:—Among the fragrant orange plants we part at a river-side inn; the wind from the river blows hard and sends the rain athwart the ship. Far hence, before the moon of Mt. Sho, alas, will the shrill cry of apes prolong your grief even in your dreams.

the fire-flies in the herbage gleam like the torches of Magiji-ma. A morning shower sounds exactly like wind rustling through the trees. When I listen to the notes of a wild bird, I speculate whether it is the male or female bird calling for its young.¹ The bold appearance of a solitary hart reminds me of the wide gap that exists between the world and me; the plaintive voice of the owl fills my mind with pity. Scenes like these are found everywhere around in inexhaustible abundance, possessing for those who are profounder in reflection and quicker in apprehension than myself still more varied attractions. Five years have elapsed since I first took up my abode in this place. The flimsy shed has now fallen into an almost dilapidated condition. Under the eaves there has accumulated a thick mass of mouldering leaves. A coating of moss covers parts of the floor. From time to time tidings have come to me from the city of the death of many noble persons there. And it is an easy matter for me to calculate the number of humbler folks who have also been overtaken by the same fate. Many houses, too, must have been consumed in the numerous conflagrations. Only this unpretending cot of mine remains safe and undisturbed. Narrow though it be, it provides a couch by night and a seat by day, and suffices to shelter me. The shell-fish is content with its contracted abode; the fish-hawk lives on a craggy and inhospitable shore that it may avoid mankind. Like them, I am fond of a single life, with no object of affection to cherish, no friendships to cultivate. My sole desire is to find tranquillity, to be free from care. Others, when they build a house, build it not for themselves;

¹ A reference to the lines of Uki Moto:—"Whenever I hear a pheasant sing, *horo, horo*, I wonder whether it is my father or my mother." The title of the poem in which the lines occur is "All beings are our parents." Boshio (16th century) also expresses the same idea:—"I long to see my father. I long to see my mother, whenever I hear a pheasant sing." The pheasant was typical of parental affection.

their houses are for their families, or their instructors, or their lords, or even for their oxen, their horses and their treasure. But I have built mine for my own sole use, because I have no companion, and no friend to live with me. What is friendship but regard for the rich and open-handed, and contempt for the upright and kindly? Better to make friends with music and with nature! Our servants, caring only for rewards and punishments, estimate our regard for them by the amount of largesses we bestow on them. We throw away kindness on those who neither need nor appreciate it. Let us rather be our own servants, using our own limbs—a manner of life, which, if somewhat irksome for the moment, is much easier than to employ others. Let us make use of our bodies for two ends—our arms as our servants, our legs as our vehicles. The mind which acts in sympathy with the body, may use the latter when fresh, allow it to rest when tired. Let the mind be careful neither to overtax the body, nor, on the other hand, to encourage it in its disposition to be lazy. Exercise is health-giving; why then sit in idleness? To trouble others is a sin; why should we ask for assistance? With regard to my diet and clothing, I observe the same principles. A garment of *fuyi* and a bed-quilt of hemp suffice to cover my body. My life may very well sustain itself on the *kaya* flowers which flourish in the wilds, and on the fruits that grow on the mountain side. My poor thinly-clad figure is no object of ridicule in these solitudes. Meals so scanty as I have described have still a relish for me. These remarks are not intended as a sermon addressed to the well-to-do, for I am merely comparing my previous life with the present. Since I renounced the world's pleasures, envy and fear have vanished from my mind. Free from regret and reluctance, I pursue my course as Providence directs me. Looking upon self as a floating cloud, I place no dependence on it, nor, on the contrary, am I in the least dissatisfied therewith. Fleeting pleasures

have dwindled into insignificance over the dreamer's pillow; his life-long desire finds its satisfaction in the contemplation of the beautiful in nature.

The three worlds¹ consist of only one mind. Treasures, horses, oxen, palaces, castles,—what boot they, so long as the mind is uneasy? In this lone place, in this small cottage, I enjoy full peace of mind. Were I in the city, I might feel shame in becoming a beggar; but settled here, I pity those who toil and moil in the dusty highway of the world. Let him who doubts the truth of my words merely look at the denizens of the sea and of the air. A fish never grows weary of water; but its motive none but a fish can tell. So birds are fond of the woods; ask them the reason why. The same may be said of seclusion; its pleasures cannot be understood by one who has not led the life.

The lunar course of my life is fast drawing to a close, and every moment I draw nearer to the peak of death. When the time shall come for me to make a sudden start for the darkness of the "three ways,"² of what use will it be to me to have troubled myself with earthly cares? Buddha enjoins us to love nothing earthly. To love my moss-clad hut, this of itself is a sin; even this cherished tranquillity is an obstruction to salvation. Woe to those who, to while away the time, indulge in idle pleasures.

One quiet morning after making these reflections I propounded to myself the following question: Granted that your object in forsaking the world and retiring to these woods and mountains is to tranquillize your mind and carry your principles into practice. But, though in appearance you are a sage, yet your mind is soaked with impurity. Though your hut resembles the dwelling of Jyomo,³ yet your conduct

¹ The three worlds of matter, spirit and passion. ² The name of a river, which, like the Styx, has to be crossed by the dead.

³ The hero of Yuimagyō, a Buddhistic book.

falls short even of Shuri-Bandoku's.¹ Is this the result of poverty, or of inward impurity? This question I left unanswered, but twice or thrice repeated involuntary prayers.

Written in the hut at Toyama, on the last day of March in the second year of Kenreki (1212 A. D.) by Renin, the monk.

Alas; the moon, now hid behind yon peak,
Denies the constant light I seek!

¹ A disciple of Shaka-Munyi, noted for his weak memory.

SPECIMENS OF AINU FOLK-LORE.

LEGENDS X, XI, XII.

BY REV. JOHN BATCHELOR.

[Read April 28th, 1892.]

LEGEND X.*

HOROKEU KAMUI KOT' TU- THE LEGEND OF HOW THE
 RESHI AKORE KATU OMA YU- YOUNGER SISTER OF THE WOLF-
 KARA. GOD WAS GIVEN TO ME (to wife.)

Akoro sapo iresu hine ram- I was brought up by my
 ma kane oka an ruwe ne. elder sister and always re-
 Iresu ruwe ene oka-hi :— mained at home. I was
 reared in this wise :—

Kane¹ umangui ni umangi The¹ iron and wooden
 uweoriro o. Kane umangi beams (of our house) were
 umangi kata ibe-op noka ibe- painted in diverse colours.
 tam noka charuwatore.² Shiri Upon the iron beams were
 kunne koro ibe-op noka-ibe- placed² pictures of swords

* Legends I—VII and VIII—IX will be found in vols. XVI., Pt. ii. and XVIII., Pt. I. of the Transactions of this Society.

1. The word here translated "iron" is, in the original, *kane*; by some Ainus also pronounced *kani*. It is doubtful whether *kane* would not be better rendered by the word "beautiful" than by "iron;" thus we should read,—“the beautiful wooden beams, &c., (see Legend VI Vol. XVI., Part II. note on verses 1 and 2.)

2. "Placed." *Charuwatore* really means "to be placed in order;" "to be set in rotation." Hence it is doubtful whether the "spears" and "swords" here spoken of were not real rather than mere pictures or paintings, and were carefully placed in order upon the beams as may sometimes be seen in some few Ainu huts to-day.

tam noka shiknu kamui ne;³ arutam kochupu-chupu.⁴ Notakop nipek, eembe nipek, shakus toikunne, chisei upshoro emakuatara okai an.

Hike, rapoketa; Kunashiri uirup, Shumashiri⁵ uirup, makaugane remetok koro gusu, tami patek irangetupa ne ki yak nye. Arushka gusu aemokoro koslikiraru an an ruwe ne. Shine an ta akoro sapo tu numon ibe⁶ anuruoka eterekere.

Okake an koro, hotke kosonde⁷ akoro sapo ikaseshke; pirika mokoro annoyekora aeramu an koro, hopuni an ine, araukopashitep ashito-

and spears. By night these pictures of swords and spears became living gods³ and flashed about blindingly.⁴ The brightness of these tools and sharp instruments lit up the inside of the house during the darkness.

Whilst things were in this state it was said that, the inhabitants of Kunashiri and Shumashiri⁵ were beyond measure brave, and pursued war as a profession. I was so angry at this that I was unable to sleep.

On a certain occasion my elder sister cooked two days⁶ food.

After this she covered me up with the bed clothes⁷

3. "Became living gods." Probably some secret drill was carried on by night with a view to future war.

4. "Flashed about blindingly." *Arutam* is said by the Ainus to mean a "flash" like a "flash" of lightning. *Kochupuchupu* means "to blink the eyes at." The flashes were here caused by the spears and swords knocking together when at drill.

5. *Kunashiri* and *Shumashiri* are Islands to the Northeast of Ezo.

6. "Two days' food." A poetical way of saying "much food," or "a large quantity of food."

7. "Bed clothes;" Ainu *hotke kosonde*. *Kosonde* appears to be the Japanese word *kosode*, a wadded silk garment, and *hotke* is "to lie down to sleep;" hence *hotke kosonde*, "sleeping clothes" or "bed clothes." None but a "well to do" Ainu could have a *kosonde*, and most likely the word is here used to show that our hero was a chief of the people. The Ainus, however, maintain that *kosonde* is a real Ainu word whatever *kosode* may be.

mush. Orowa no, Kunashiri kotan Shumashiri kotan kopakehe aituyere. Arapa an, aine, pirika pon pet sanru konna maknatara. Pet putu ta arapa an, aige, pon urat' tapkop⁸ koi yange ni kurukashike oosor' ushi.

Samata arapa an. Iugau ruwe ene oka-hi:—Shiwentep ainu retara kosonde utomchiure. Pon shiwentep shongo iporo eipottumma; shinuai kaue itak an hawe ene oka-hi:—"Ingara gusu itak tunash guru itak okake akotuye; itak moire guru itak etoko kotuye rame-tok a ne ruwe ne. Tunashi itak an."

Itak an rokbe pon shiwentep hottoro kata kotususatki;⁹

and, when I judged her to be fast asleep, I arose and girded on my sword.

I then set out for Kunashiri and Shumashiri.

As I went along a pretty little water-way opened up (*before me*). So I came to the river's mouth, and, a little mountain⁸ like fog was (*I saw*) sitting upon a log of wood which had been cast up by the waves of the sea.

I went up to it; and this is what I saw:—An Ainu woman dressed in white clothing. The little woman looked as though she had come with a message; nevertheless I spake thus to her:—"Look here, I am a person so brave that I cut down fast speakers ere they have finished talking, and slow talkers at the beginning of their speech. (*So*) speak quickly."

As I spake the little woman trembled exceedingly;⁹ and,

8. "Mountain like fog." *Urat* or *urara* is "fog," and *tapkop* is a single, solitary mountain or hill; or a mountain standing quite alone. The "fog" which looked like a "little mountain" turned out to be an Ainu woman, as will be seen hereafter.

9. "Trembled exceedingly." The Ainu words are *hottoro kata kotususatki*, lit: "she trembled upon her fore-head." This is a phrase used to express great fear; her forehead shook through fear.

tusa imaka niyerishpa iki rok ine, itak hawe eue oka-hi:—
 “Tapan pon pet pet etokota horokeu Kamui yai-iriwak¹⁰ koro an ruwe ne. Kot'tureshi a ne hine uitek hawe ene ani:—Rametok koro wa Ainu ne yakka Kamui ne yakka komonnukurip. Shumashiri uirup Kunashiri uirup ne ruwe tapan. Shinen e ne wa e arapa yakka wen rawe ne na. Akot'tureshi shirika sak¹¹ yakka okkeu kashi apirikare wa nekore kusu ne na. Tande wano hoshihi ikore yan; sekoro okaibe, akoro yupi ye utekkara ariki an na,” sekoro itak. Arushka gusu yupke tamkuru akoterekere. Hopumba tomun tup ne rep ne ausatuye. Inotu oroge hopumba humi keurototke ki rok; awai iteksam peka ainu kurumam chishipusure; aye rok kuni, horokeu kamui aarakotomka koro wen buri enan kurukashi chiparasere. Kurukashike

chewing the sleeve of her dress (*as in fear*) spake as follows:—“At the source of this little river I have a blood-relation¹⁰—the Wolf-god. I am, his younger sister and have been sent to say this:—The inhabitants of Kunashiri and Shumashiri are men so brave that neither gods nor men dare approach them, (*so that*) if even you go there, and alone, it will be bad (*for you*). My younger sister is a poor worthless creature,¹¹ but I will make up for that by giving you some presents with her. So now return from here; it was to say these things (*to you*) that my elder brother sent me here.” So spake she. I was angry at this and therefore struck her fiercely with my sword. I killed her whilst she was rising. Her soul departed with a great sound; but Lo, the shadow of a man appeared at my side; it was,

10. “Blood relation.” *Iriwak* are one's own blood-relations, while distant relations are called *iritak*.

11. “Poor, worthless creature.” *Shirikasak* means, “destitute;” “poor;” “worthless;” “ugly.” The Wolf-god meant to say that his sister was utterly unworthy of the hand of our hero. However, he would make up for that by giving a large dowry or marriage portion with her. It was customary among to Ainus to give some dowry with a bride when she got married.

itak omare eue oka-bi:—
 “Usaine katap, ainu akpo
 irashka shiri aoyane ue na.
 Nep wen itak akot'tureshi
 neutek-kara e tunashi raige
 ki shiri tap an? E ki rusui-
 be rai ne yak ne chitunash
 raige itasa pakno aekarakara
 ki gusu ne na.”

Sekoro itak koro, yupke
 tamkura ikoterekere, aurai
 poka ayaikoniukesh, peken'-
 rera ne¹² tamtui kashi ama-
 unoyere. Itasa pakno ynpke
 tamkura akoterekere. Ho-
 pumba toman, tap ue rep ne
 ausatuye. Inotu oroge ho-
 pumbahumi kenrototke; ashi-
 ri pito¹³ ue, nei a pon pet
 pet etoko kolum benene; ka-
 shokake chakkosauu. Orowa
 no ashiriikinne Kuunashiri ko-
 tan akonrepuni yupu arapa

without doubt, the aforesaid
 Wolf-god. He had anger
 depicted upon his counten-
 ance. Now this is what he
 said:—“It is ridiculous of
 you, my young Ainu brother,
 to get angry in this way.
 What was there improper in
 the speech I sent my younger
 sister to deliver to you that
 made you slay her so sudden-
 ly? If it is death that you
 are seeking, I will slay you as
 quickly as you slew her.”

When he had so spoken he
 set upon me with his sword,
 but as I had no wish to be
 killed outright I turned my-
 self into wind¹² and jumped
 above his sword-sweep. I
 (then) attacked him as he
 had done me. I cut him
 down as he was rising¹³ up.
 His soul departed with a
 great sound, he became a
 new man and went round
 the mountains towards the
 source of the little river.

12. *Peken' rera ne* is “became bright wind.” Though the Ainus say that their ancestors had power themselves invisible by turning into air, yet all our hero intends to say here is that he made haste to escape the sword sweep aimed at him.

13. “Became a new man.” *Pito* is often used in Ainu legends and seems to be from the Japanese word *hito*, “man.” The Wolf god's spirit having been released from the body was renewed, and went off beyond the mountains. The victory belonged to the Ainu.

an, aine, Kunashiri kotan
Shumashiri kotan akoshirepa.

Pakuo ne koro, orowa no,
Kunashiri kotan kotan pakehe
kotan kesehe weu tumiram
akohetukare. Orowa no,
kunne hene tokap hene ro-
rumbe patek tuni patek aki
rokine, shine okkaiyo a nep
ne gusu, tane anak ne ami
kosoude heru penram atek-
okbare. Nei rapoketa tuima
kotan kotan tapka ta tap au
kamui man¹⁴ tap an kamui
kuru chihetukbare, seenne
moyo no kurukashike pase
kamui humrarire. Ariki ine,
akot tamunchi koshirepa. In-
gar'an ruwe, a un ebisei ta
kane umangi ni umangi kata
aruchoroshite ibeop naka ibe-
tam noka shiknu kamui ne
kamui man etok uweshinoiba.
Ariki ine, orowa no tuni koro
kata nep araige shomoki no
po Shumashiri uirup kunashiri
uirup kotuni koro. Eattereke
ne Shumashiri kotan Kuna-
shiri kotan wentoikanto ako-
kirukara. Pakno ne koro,
senram sekoro ibeop noka

After this there was peace.
When this was over, I walk-
ed fast till I arrived at Kuna-
shiri and Shumashiri.

After this, having arrived
at Kunashiri I stirred up a
grievous war from one end of
the land to the other. And,
as I was carrying on this
war single-handed, both day
and night, I found that my
clothes (*were torn so much
that*) nothing but the front
of my garment hung from
my arms. By and by ther^e
arose over the distant mou-
tain tops, such a mighty
wind¹⁴ and shadow, and
above all, there was the
sound of the approach of a
great company of the gods.
Yea, they came to the place
where I was fighting. On
seeing the gods fly before the
great wind (*I recognised them
as being*) the spears and swords
which were placed upon the
iron beams of our house; they
had become living gods. When
they came, the war with the
people of Kunashiri and Shu-
mashiri was as nothing, for
in a moment their country

14. "A mighty wind." *Kamui man*, lit: a wind of god.

ibetam noka kamui man etok
uwelhopumba paye wa isam.

Orowa no, akoro kotan
kopakeheta aituyere. Ek an
awa, tap an kamui man kuru-
kashike pase kamui seenne
moyo humrarire. Ioukashi-
ke chikarure; kurukashike
kamui itak hau horaochiwe
ene oka-hi:—"Ingara gusu,
tan heikachi, itak an chiki,
onnere an. Ashinuma anak
tap Poiyaumbe¹⁵ a ne ruwe
ne. Tnmunchi patek rorum-
be patek aki rok ine, akoro
kotan Shinutapka ikeshui
hine ariki an, awa, shuma
nuru un heikachi chish hau
charototke. Tambe gusu,
ingar'an awa, pon heikachi
chish koro oka; oro oyachiki,
Okikurumi¹⁶ ainu moshiri

was completely laid waste.
When this was over, the
spears and swords rose up in
the air and departed in the
same manner as they had
come, before a mighty wind.

And so I returned home.
When going along there ap-
peared a great host of gods
riding upon a mighty wind.
Hovering over me a voice
from a god came forth, which
said: "Look here, my lad, I
have something to say, so
pay attention. As for me, I
am that Poiyaumbe.¹⁵ I left
my home at Shinutapka in
wrath because there was
nothing but war in the land.
And, as I was coming along
I heard the voice of a lad
crying among the stones; I
went therefore to see what it
was and found it to be a lit-
tle lad weeping. Now, Oki-
kurumi¹⁶ was the governor of

15. *Poiyaumbe*, "Brave Ainu." The speaker here makes known to one hero that he is a well known person—in fact—a brave man whose fame has spread far and wide. No further introduction was needed than "that Poiyaumbe." [See Trans: Vol. XVI. Pt. ii, Page 147 Note 1].

16. *Okikurumi* is the Ainu name for *Kurōhangwan Minamoto no Yoshitsune*, who was driven to Yezo by his younger brother in the 12th century of our era, and who is said by the Ainus to have taught their ancestors the arts of fishing and hunting.

moshiri noshike epungine the middle of Ainu-land; and
 gurn, nitne kamui shine- (once upon a time) the devils
 ikinne kotumi koro, Shukup made war against him with
 ebitta¹⁷ ki rok ine Nitne ka- one accord and slew every
 mui innep ne gusu annu- one of his¹⁷ men, for the
 tuiba. Okikurumi koro devils were numerous. The
 machi hoku kemnu, tambe wife of Okikurumi took her
 gusu, pakkai ine hoku okata child upon her back and
 tumi koro aine annu-tuiba. came to avenge the death of
 Pon heikachi e ne, ine, shu- her husband, but she was
 ma ututta eara kosonde e ko- slain. You were that little
 karakari e anna an. Ki rui child which she took and
 mashkin aekemnu gusu akot'- wrapped up in a garment
 chisei aeoresu, e poro pakno and put among the stones.
 akoro sapo e resu ruwe ne As we much desired to
 wa ne yaknu, e poro koro avenge you we brought
 Horokeu kamui kot'tureshi ek you up in our home; and
 orowa ne yak, tap an mo- after our elder sister had
 shiri noshike e epungine ki reared you and the younger
 gusu ne ap. Moto isam no sister of the Wolf-god had
 Kunashiri kotan Shumashiri come to you, it was settled
 kotan e kotumi koro; nei that you were to govern the
 kashita, Horokeu kamui nep middle of Ainu-land. And
 wen kentum kon rok gusu now without cause you have
 tureshi tura no e tunash rai- warred against Kunashiri and
 ge? Irushka an gusu e resu Shumashiri, but above all,
 sapo teke apashite; tane anak what evil had the wolf-god
 ne ki shiri na na. Heue ki and his sister done that you
 yakka, shukup eturupak shu- should have so quickly killed

17. We learn from this legend that Yoshitsune was slain while fighting. Who the "devils" were that slew him is not stated, but I have been told privately that he was killed in Karafto by the Karafto Ainu in one of their feuds with the inhabitants of Yezo. Yoshitsune, it is here stated, left one son. He also, we are told, was afterwards killed in battle.

kup ekashu apa¹⁸ ne koro utan'ne koro e koro ki kunip tap ne ibetam noka ibeop noka ne ruwe ne na," sekoro kamui itak hau horaochiwe.

Ashirikinne irushka keutum ayaikoropare; sapo ohai araikotenge, tamparaparakae-sau animba. Ohish an aine "neita pakuo echish ike e koro sapo e nukar'heki yainu an gusu" ayainanka piriba-piriba. Orowa no akoro kotan ta ekan; awa, son noka un, akoro sapo tarape muni eotnyetuye oara isam. Orowa, shinen a ne wa an an, aige, shineanda chisei soita ainu ariki, ioyamokte aki, awa, aronnu rokbe Horokeu kamui kot' turesh poro chitarabe¹⁹ sei hine ariki. Orowa no, iparo shuke ramma kaue okai an. Nei rapoketa ibe-op uoka ibe-

them? I am angry with you for this and therefore your sister has been led away into captivity, yea, she is even now being taken away. However, these swords and spears, some of which are of your age and some of which are your elders, are your friends and relations."¹⁸ So spake the voice which came down from the gods.

Then again I was angry, and, weeping very bitterly, called after my sister. While weeping I thought to myself—"however much you weep it will not bring your sister to you"—so I wiped my face. On arriving at my home I found that my sister and all her furniture and ornaments had, in truth, entirely disappeared. After this I lived alone. Now, one day, I was much surprised to hear people outside. It was the Wolf-god and his sister whom I had killed that were coming; they were bringing a very large bundle¹⁹ with

18. "Relations." It is here clearly stated that the spears and swords which have hitherto been spoken of as having been painted on the beams of the hut, were, in reality, living men, or warriors.

19. "Large bundle." The marriage portion spoken of above.

tam noka shirikunne koro shiknu kamui ne; arutam kochupuchupu. Tambe patek ayaineusara ka okai au, aine, Horokeu kamui kot'turesh akor'ine okai au ruwe ne.

them. After this they stayed as servants; then the pictures of spears and swords came to life at night and did nothing but exercise and talk together of old times. I then married the younger sister of the Wolf-god and we live together.

LEGEND XI.

WHY THERE ARE SNAKES IN AINU-LAND,

AND

WHY THEY SWALLOW FROGS.

Fushkotoita ene an orush-pe an-i:—

Nei okokko, "tam-moshitta okai an ko aep ka isam; gusu, rep un guru moshiri orun oman kusu ne," ani itak.

Awa, nei terekeibe ene itak-hi:—

"Shomo oman yakka piri-ka", ani itak: gusu, "nep gusu nei hawe ne ya?" ani itak. Awa, "tam-moshitta e an wa e ep isam chiki, kuani oat-chikirihi ruki kane an ko anak ne kironnu; gusu, shomo oman yakka piri-ka", ani terekeibe itak. Gu-

The following is a tale of ancient times:—

The snake said, "I cannot stay in this country for there is no food; I will, therefore, migrate to a foreign land."

Thereupon the frog replied:—

"There is no necessity for you to go away." Upon this the snake asked, "Why do you say so?" The frog answered: "If in staying in this country you find you cannot obtain sufficient food, you will, if you swallow one of my legs, be fully satisfied;

su, shomo oman no tam-
moshitta okai ruwe ne; wa
gusu, nei terekeibe nukara
chiki, ruki patek ki rusui
koro okai ruwe ne.

there is therefore no necessity
for you to go away." And
so the snake did not migrate
but stayed in the land;
and now, whenever it sees
a frog it always has a great
desire to swallow it."

LEGEND XII.

WHY WESTERN YEZO IS SO ROUGH AND
DANGEROUS.

"Kotau kara kamui kotan
kara katu tap ne an ruwe ne
yak aye.

Turesh tura no kara wa,
nei turesh anak no Anruru
moshiri kara; orowa, okkai
kamui anak ne Chupka mo-
shiri kara wa, uwetushmak
wa kara yak aye. Awa, nei
turesh shiwentep ne gusu,
oina kamui kot turesh an,
aige, tura no monraige sho-
moki no nei turesh tura
uweneusara. Rapoketa, ok-
kai kamui kotan kara okere
ehange; ne wa ambe nukara
wa orowa no kimatek gusu,
nei Anruru moshiri nei no

"This is the way in which
the maker of places is said to
have created the world.¹

He and his younger sister
made it between them; the
sister's portion was the West-
ern part of Yezo while the
male deity made the Eastern
part, and, it is said, they
vied with each other in their
work. Now, as the younger
sister was but a woman, she,
happening to fall in with the
younger sister of the Divine
Oina, instead of doing her
work stopped to chatter.
While this was going on the
male deity came near com-

1. The world here means the Island of Yezo only.

kara ; yakne tunashi no kara
 kuni esanniyo gusu, wen no
 wen no kara katuhu ne wa
 gusu, tau Anruru moshiri
 ayaikikip ushike patek poron
 no an ruwe ne, ari ambe upa-
 shuma au."

pleting his portion of the
 task ; seeing this, she, being
 surprised, made the Western
 part after the slovenly man-
 ner it now is. It was there-
 fore because she did her work
 in too great a hurry that it
 was done so exceedingly
 badly ; and hence it is that
 the Western part of Yezo has
 so many dangerous places
 about it. So runs the tale."

FEUDAL LAND TENURE IN TOSA.

BY THE REV. R. B. GRINNAN.

[Read 28th April, 1892.]

The history of the land tenure of a country is always closely connected with its political development. This is especially true of ancient times, for then land was the sole or principal source of wealth and power, and came naturally into the hands of the strongest and therefore the ruling class. It is necessary, in order to fully understand the question before us, to inquire who the early rulers of Tosa were, and by what means their authority was maintained. But here as elsewhere early history is obscure, and even with the help of old land-marks it is difficult to obtain more than mere suggestions respecting either the political relations of the time or the early systems of land holding.

Before the time of Chōsokabe Motochika there does not appear to have been any one lord ruling the whole island of Shikoku as under the *daimyō* of the Tokugawa regime. There were *kokushi* (governors) who were appointed by the Emperors, but their authority over the under lords was never great. Their rule was rather nominal than real. When it was that these *kokushi* were first sent to Tosa I do not know. My information on this

subject has been obtained chiefly from a book called "The Rise and Fall of Chōsokabe" (Chōsokabe no Seisnuki) and this history does not antedate the entrance of that family into Tosa. Before speaking at length of this Chōsokabe family I wish to call attention to the family of Ichijō, from which sprang the longest and most important line of *kokushi* known in Tosa. The Ichijō were of *kuge* origin. At the time of the "Ōjin no ran," (Rebellion of Ōjin) a *kuge* named Ichijō Kazubusa fled from Kyoto and hid himself in Hyogo. Chōsokabe Fumikane of Tosa, hearing of his whereabouts, went to see him and persuaded him to return in his company to Tosa. His reason for performing this act of kindness was that Kazubusa's father had once taught him certain necessary laws of court etiquette while he was visiting in Kyoto. It seems, further, that Fumikane sought to strengthen himself by means of the friendship of a man of high *kuge* rank. The contending lords of Tosa had been in the habit of securing *monbatsu* or men of good family, when opportunity offered, with a view to strengthening their positions socially and politically. After his arrival in Tosa, Kazubusa lived for two years in the castle of Ōko, to which place came the various under lords to pay him their respects. He was afterwards appointed *kokushi* of Tosa, and it was arranged that he should live in the castle of Nakamura, situated in what is now known as Hatagōri. From this time on for several generations the Ichijō family lived in the castle of Nakamura and were the *kokushi* of Tosa. No great interest attaches to any of them, except it be to Yasumasa, who became a Christian, as his name also seems to imply. It was for this reason that he was banished to Usaki in Bungo, where he remained, marrying the daughter of a Christian *daimyō*. Ichijō Tomomasa was the last of this family to become *kokushi*. He was banished by Chōsokabe Motochika to Iyo, where he died. These *kokushi* were the first to classify the lands so that the proper amount of tax could be collected for the Government

in Kyoto. They greatly promoted the progress of the country by assisting and directing in the opening up of new lands for cultivation and in the building of proper river embankments.

SHUGOKOKUSHI.

Under the *kokushi* were the *shugokokushi* who were the real native lords of Tosa. They were small *daimyō* who had in various ways risen to power, and they were constantly contending among themselves for supremacy. They paid homage to the *kokushi* and tribute to the Emperor, and after that they were unmolested in their wars one with another. There were seven of these under lords, whose names and places of residence are as follows :—

JOSHU.

Aki,	who lived in Akigori in Aki no shiro (castle).
Tsumo,	“ “ Takaokagori in Hayama no shiro.
Ōhisa,	“ “ “ “ Hasuike “ “
Chōsokabe,	who lived in Nagaokagori in Ōkō no shiro.
Kira,	“ “ “ Agawagori “ Kiragamine.
Yamada,	“ “ “ Kagamigori “ Yamada.
Motoyama	“ “ “ Asakura.

From what date these *shugokokushi* existed as such I do not know, but they were probably the seven leading under lords from the beginning of the rule of the Ichijō family. They helped materially in opening up the country for cultivation, and in laying out the *honden* (chief lands) as these were afterwards found by Yamaguchi when he went to Tosa. Of the seven the family which rose to greatest power and influence was that of Chōsokabe. It was of Chinese origin and of very high rank. It is said that Kōman Ō, of China, came to Japan in 199 A.D., but for what purpose is not known. He was a great-great-grandson of Shikotei, who built

the great wall of China. Shintoku Ō, the son of Kōman Ō, came to Japan in A. D. 283 and received from the Emperor the name of Hada. He became a resident, it is said, of the province of Yamato. In the 84th generation (*dai*) from Shintoku Ō appeared one named Hada Yoshitoshi, who was sent as a *kokushi* to Tosa. The office was not continued to his descendants. Nevertheless they remained in Tosa where they became *shugokokushi*, and the possessors of much landed and other property. They lived for long in Sogabe *mura*, near the present town of Asaoka, and there the family came to be called by the name of Chōsokabe. By far the most famous and powerful of them all was Chōsokabe Motochika. He was of the 21st generation (*dai*) from Yoshitoshi, the first of the family to go to Tosa. He succeeded in driving out the Ichijō family from Hatagori, and in subduing to himself all of the *shugokokushi* in Tosa, and finally in obtaining control of the whole island of Shikoku. Hideyoshi, (1536-1598) fearing the growing influence of this man, restricted him by force to the single province of Tosa. At first Chōsokabe Motochika lived at Ōko Castle, which was built on a hill a few miles to the north-east of the city of Kochi. He afterwards lived in the castle of Urado, which stands at the entrance of the Kochi Harbor. He was both a great general and a wise ruler. He established many laws of importance, and opened up a great deal of the country which, until his time, had been left uncultivated. His son Chōsokabe Morichika became the lord of Tosa, but for siding against Iyeyasu in the battle of Sekigahara (1600 A. D.) he was deposed and his daimiate given to a man named Yamanouchi Katsutaro.

SHIKE.

Under the *kokushi* and subject to them there were also *shike*, Yotsu no iri, who were lesser lords than the *shugo*-

kokushi. Four families of these were prominent in early Tosan history, viz. :—

Mori,	which lived in Ushinoe no shiro.
Kunisawa,	“ “ “ Odakasaka no higashi.
Chiya,	“ “ “ Kagamigori Takama no shiro.
Kaido,	“ “ “ Kaida Sawa no shiro.

KOKUSHI (KUNI NO SAMURAI.)

There were also forty-five *kokushi* who were a kind of *samurai* under the *kokushi* (governors). They lived in very small castles and were owners of the surrounding lands.¹

THE YAMAUCHI RÉGIME.

As stated above, Ieyasu gave the daimiate of Tosa to Yamanouchi Katsutoyo, who with his descendants ruled the province down to the time of the Restoration. Yamanouchi was accompanied to Tosa by his former *samurai*, but as these were insufficient in number, he hired other *samurai* from various quarters to go with him. His native place had been Kakegawa in Enshū (Totomi), where he was only a small *daimyō*. Previous to the battle of Sekigahara this Yamanouchi had loaned his castle to Iyeyasu, and had otherwise rendered him valuable assistance, and his promotion was a natural consequence. The daimiate of Tosa was rated at about 240,000 *koku* of rice. To say, however, that Tosa was a 240,000 *koku* daimiate does not mean necessarily that land producing this quantity of rice was actually enjoyed by the *daimyō* himself. The account seems

¹ The history thus far is gathered from the above-mentioned book. For collecting and verifying the statements made in the remainder of this article I am indebted to Mr. Shibata Kanichiro, a former *karo*, and Mr. Hosokawa Gisshō, a former *gōshi*.

to have included what was allotted to the *karō* (see below), who only gave to the upper lord a military contingent in time of war. When Yamanouchi Katsutoyo took possession of Tosa, he employed a man named Nonaka, a civil engineer, very skilful for that day, who went with him as his best *kerai* (vassal). This man did a great deal of important work on the water courses, i.e., in the building of river embankments and in digging canals for the proper irrigation of rice fields. He dug what is still called the Shinkawa (New River), which has been of immense benefit to the section of country through which it passes. It is said that Nonaka, in order to get the proper gradient for the canal, arranged a line of lanterns along the proposed course and was thereby enabled to obtain a satisfactory survey.

Let us now consider the feudal system under the Yamanouchi regime. Nearest to the *daimyō* came a sort of cabinet, consisting of three *bugyō* (superintendents), while the body of the retainers was made up of *karō*, *shikaku* (samurai), *gōshi* (country warriors), and *keikaku* (country gentry). I will describe these in the order named.

KARŌ.

When Yamanouchi Katsutoyo was sent to Tosa, the Shōgun sent also *karō* of rank to act as checks upon him. They possessed a rather extended power under the *daimyō*. They owned lands, and had their own *samurai* and their own farmers also, who paid taxes to the *karō* only, not to the *daimyō*. There were eleven *karō* in all; eight of whom lived in the *jōka* or castle-town (Kochi), and owned land in various places throughout the country; the remaining three living in the country; namely, in Nakamura, in Sakawa, and in Aki, where they had castles of their own. These were practically under-lords, the *karō* of Sakawa being the most powerful. His income was rated at 10,000 *koku* of rice, and made him the subject of jealous

concern to the *daimyō*. The other *karō* had incomes varying from 10,000 to 2,000 *koku*. None received less than the latter amount. The *karō* did not render service to the *daimyō* by means of a tax paid in rice, but by providing him with a military contingent when called upon to do so.

SHIKAKU.²

The *shikaku*, or *samurai* owing allegiance directly to the *daimyō*, were of different ranks and all lived in the *jōka*. The upper class wore the two swords and might ride on horses, in time of peace and of war. It was necessary for them to own a certain number of horses in accordance with their rank. They were paid not in rice but by receiving a certain amount of *honden* or *shinden* (see below), which was allotted to each man according to the number of *koku* of rice to which his rank entitled him. The lower classes of *samurai* were paid in rice, not in lands; they wore their two swords, but were

² Classes of *samurai*. I will give first the ranks according to the payment that was received. The *samurai* who received lands and not rice from the *daimyō's kura* were called *jikata tori*, and the lands were called *chigyō*; for example: it was said that a man was paid with so much *chigyō*, that is so much *honden* or *shinden*. Those *samurai* who were paid according to *kokusu* from the *kura* of the *daimyō* were called *kura chi tori*. There were also *samurai* who received *fuchi kippu*, which was the rice given from the *kura* of the *daimyō*, but not according to the *kokusu* (number of *koku*). *Ichininfuchi* was an allowance of 5 *go* of rice for one person for one day, and *samurai* were rated to receive so many *fuchi*; for example a man would receive *gonin fuchi*, which would be 25 *go* of rice per day. Those who received the *fuchi kippu* generally also received an addition according to the *kokusu*.

Next below the *daimyō* of course were the *karō*; below them came the first class of the *samurai* proper, who were called *churō*. The *churō* were all paid in first class *chigyō*.

The next rank was called *uma mawari*, some of whom received *chugyō* and were allowed to ride on horses. In this class were men who were paid with rice from the *daimyō's kura*, but were not allowed

not permitted to ride on horses in time either of peace or of war. *Honden* and *shinden* were lands which a *samurai* or in fact any one could own in his own name, but of these I will speak further on.

GŌSHI.

When Yamanouchi Katsutaro was sent to Tosa, about one hundred of the *kerai* of Chōsokabe Motochika submitted gracefully to the new government and became *gōshi* (country warriors), a class that is unique in the annals of Japanese feudalism. They were left in undisputed possession of the lands they had received from Chōsokabe. Their number was strictly limited, at first to one hundred, as stated above, but after a time new *gōshi* were created and the number was increased to eight hundred, where it

to ride on horses. These latter were not paid in full accordance with their rank. They carried the name of this rank without having the highest privileges of the rank.

The next rank was called *koshōgumi*. Those in this rank were nearly all *kura chitori*.

The lowest rank was called *rusuigumi*. The men in this rank were divided, some were *jikatatori*, and some were paid in rice. Those who were paid in *chigyō* were men who had been *gōshi* for 30 years and had been raised to the class of *samurai*. After a man had been a *gōshi* for 30 years he became a *samurai* and in such cases his *ryōchi* became *yaguchi*.

All the classes of *samurai* below the *uma mawari* were called *keishi*.

The difference between the lower class *samurai*, who receive *fuchi kippu* and the *keikaku* who were also paid in rice, was in rank. The *keikaku* (who did not do farm work), had always to give way to the *samurai*. All *samurai* on the first day of each month went and paid their respects to the *daimyō* but the *keikaku* were not permitted into the presence of the *daimyō*. They were allowed to pay their respects from a distance only on the first day of the year.

The *kerai* of the *karō* were nearly all *jikatatori*.

remained. Among the *gōshi* the right of primogeniture obtained, the eldest son inheriting the lands and name of his father, while the remaining children fell to the *heimin* (commoners) class and for the most part became farmers. If a *gōshi* wished to sell his name, position, and lands he could do so with the permission of the *daimyō*, and in this case the buyer, even though he were but a farmer, obtained all the privileges connected with the estate he received. A *gōshi* might, if he wished sell part of his landed property and still retain his rank; but if he sold all, he was *ipso facto* reduced to the status of a *heimin*. The position of the *gōshi* was midway between that of the *samurai* and the *keikaku* (see below). They owned lands, wore two swords, owned and rode horses, and went to war when called out by the *daimyō*. Their followers were only common farmers possessing no rank whatever. The *gōshi* became for the most part men of wealth, and they still retain their lands, which escaped the general confiscation at the time of the Restoration. The reason for this exception in their favor was that these lands had not been received from the Tokugawa Government, but had been held over from the olden time—the time of the Chōsokabe. The *gōshi* have long wielded a commanding influence in Tosa.

KEIKAKU.

Besides the *gōshi* and the *samurai* there were *keikaku*, a class of country gentry, who ranked below the *samurai* and *gōshi*, but above the common farming class. They did not live in the *jōka* with the *samurai*, but on the outskirts of the city and in country towns that lay within a day's call of the *jōka*. They were paid by an allowance of rice, and were permitted to wear the two swords but not to ride on horses.

FARMERS.

The farmers lived upon and tilled all the land of the province and paid a rent directly to the *daimyō*, *karō*, or *samurai* according as the land was of one or other of certain classes to be noted presently. The renters of *honden* drew lots every four years for plots of land under general cultivation; but from such quadrennial change house lands were excepted. The right to the *kujibun* (lot share) or plot of *honden* land thus subject to exchange could be bought and sold at will. This exchange by lot took place on all *honden*, whether it was held immediately of the *daimyō* or of some *samurai* to whom it had been allotted. Whatever changes took place in ownership of this land, the tenant held his *kujibun* and remained as before. One *kujibun* was on an average about eight *tan* (1 *tan*=about $\frac{1}{4}$ acre), in extent but varied somewhat. Farmers were not evicted except for very good reasons, such as incapacity as cultivators or the non-payment of rent. A *samurai* was permitted to make changes among his lease-holders after giving fair notice of his intention, and tenants could also sell out their rights to others by properly notifying the land owners. It should be added that farmers did not fight in time of war, but only carried burdens and performed manual labor.

DIVISIONS OF THE LAND.³

We next consider the different classes of land. First was the *honden*, (chief, original-land) the most valuable land in the province. The earliest cultivators of the soil

³ The *kasakunin* were only those who rented lands owned by the farmers. There were no *kasakunin* on the *daimyō*'s lands. Each *shoya* of the *mura* arranged for the rental of the lands to farmers who worked the lands themselves and did not sub-rent them.

Lands owned by the farmers personally were divided into the *uwatsuchi* and *sokotsuchi*. The *sokotsuchi* was the earth below the upper

naturally first cleared up the fertile low-lands and these were marked off by the *kokushi* before the time of Chōsokabe Motochika, in order, as has been said, that the proper amount of tax could be collected for the central Government. By opening up new country to cultivation they added to these lands, as did also Chōsokabe Motochika when he became a *daimyō*. When Yamanouchi Katsutoyo went to Tosa, these *honden* were rated as producing 240,000 *roku* of rice, the amount at which the *daimiate* was accordingly scheduled. These *honden* could not be bought and sold, but parts of them were assigned to the higher class *samurai*, from which they received their annual supply of rice. Some portions also must have been held by the *karō*, but the bulk of them supplied the rice that went directly into the storehouse of the *daimyō*. The *shinden* (new-land) were lands cleared up after Yamanouchi Katsutoyo received the *daimiate*. They were not as valuable as the *honden* but were easily the next best lands. They could not be bought and sold, but, like the *honden*, had been partly allotted to the higher class *samurai*, not as property, but simply as lands from which their portions of rice should come.

The *yaguchi* were lands that had been opened up by the *samurai* themselves, and therefore belonged to them. The *samurai*, who themselves were not allowed to work, had *kunigashira* (headmen) to look after the tenants and

strata of 3 ft. The *uwatsuchi* was the upper strata of 3 feet of earth, which was supposed to have been enriched by manuring during cultivation. The farmer who really was the original owner of the land often owned only the *sokotsuchi*, the *uwatsuchi* being owned by the *kasakunin* who had cultivated the land. This *uwatsuchi* was bought and sold without any change in the *sokotsuchi mochi*. After a *kasakunin* had cultivated the land for about 20 years he could not be evicted from the land but the *uwatsuchi* became his own. At the time of the Restoration all *kasakunin* who had cultivated the land for 20 years became *uwatsuchi mochi*.

their farming interests generally. These lands were transferable but were not as valuable as either *honden* or *shinden*, because they were for the most part in mountainous regions. For example, a *samurai* would buy a mountain from the Government and clear it up for cultivation, and this would then become his *yaguchi*. In some cases these lands seem to have been given to the *samurai* by the *daimyo*. *Ryochi* were the new lands cleared up and owned by the *gōshi*. They also, like the *yaguchi*, were mountainous. If a *gōshi* became a *samurai*, he gave up his *ryochi* and received it back as *yaguchi* or if *ryochi* was sold to a *samurai* it became *yaguchi*, and vice versa. The *gōshi* worked these lands themselves, and bought and sold them at pleasure. There were also certain lands, which ordinary farmers would buy and hold in their own names, and they constituted a sort of *shinden*, though not the true *shinden*, which could in no case be bought or sold. The farmers' *shinden* was generally mountainous land, opened up by themselves with the direct permission of the *daimyō*. Sometimes, when a farmer could not get this necessary permission, he would borrow the name of a *gōshi* and carry on the work in that name, because (and very naturally) it was easier for a *gōshi* to get the permission than for a common farmer. Sometimes farmers opened up new lands secretly, so as to escape the tax; if this was detected, they were punished by fines. The whole of the land owned by farmers was not always contiguous. The plots were often in various places, according as they had been bought or opened up. Obviously the relative fertility of the soil in different sections would influence the clearing of the land. In addition to the foregoing, there were mountainous lands owned by the *mura*, but the great mass of mountain land was owned by the *daimyō* of the province. The *karō* had large sections of country allotted to them, so that their holdings

contained both lowlands and uplands—lands indeed that could be classed as *honden*, *shinden*, or mountain land. Over these they held complete control. From what has been said it will be seen that, with the exception of the lands of *karō* and *gōshi*, all the best land was under the direct control of the *daimyō* and could neither be bought nor sold. Only the less valuable mountain lands could be owned by the people and hence only such lands were transferable. The lands of the *daimyō* were all worked by tenants, and there was no distinction made between land which provided the lord's own rice and lands to provide rice for the *samurai*. This of course does not include lands specially allotted to upper class *samurai* for their support. Rice that was destined for the *daimyō's* private table was grown upon land that was set apart for that especial purpose.

Considering the division of the lands from another standpoint, there were *yashikichi* (house lands), which of course were uncultivated; *ta* (rice fields); and *hata* or *hatake* (up-lands), where wheat and barley with vegetables of various kinds were produced. In addition to these there were grass-lands, not on the plains, but on mountains, where the people of the *mura* gathered grass for forage and for making manure. These lands were generally owned by the *mura*. Upon the mountains there were *hara* (waste-land) and also large forests, both of which classes of land belonged to the *daimyō*. The uncultivated lands were very extensive owing to the extremely mountainous character of the country.

The arable lands were divided into districts called *azana*. The size of these *azana* varied according to the manner and extent in which the land had been originally cleared up. They served no other purpose than that of marking off and naming for the sake of convenience the various districts of the *mura*. These names are often associated with the men who originally cleared up the land;

for example *Torube Honden*, or *Torube Shinden*. The small divisions between the plots of land were called *aze*. These plots varied in size according to the slope as leveled for irrigation purposes, but none of them were large. The narrow *aze* were subject to change, but the broad ones could not be removed, as they marked the larger divisions. Smaller plots were designated by their *bangō* (number); for example *Torube Honden* No. 1 and No. 2, or *Torube Shinden* No. 3 and No. 4, etc.

MURA.

The *mura* or village is the only other division of the country which we need to consider, and it is one of the most important. Under the *kokushi* (that is, practically, at least as late as Yoritomo's time), the following arrangement obtained with regard to the *mura*. One man cultivated eight *tan*, and this was called *ichimyo*, (one-name). The amount differed in different *mura*; in some it was only 5 or 6 *tan*. Next, five men were associated under one head man, and the combination was called *go-myo* (five-names). These five men were banded together to help one another in case of need, and any small difficulties which arose among them were settled by the headman. Ten of these *gomyo*, numbering in all 50 men, were united under one headman and constituted the *gojiu myo* (fifty-names) or *isson* (one *mura*). The headman of the 50 was the headman of the *mura*, and had the general oversight of its affairs, settling all difficulties of importance that arose therein. Taxes were rated by the government not on the farmer directly but on the *mura* as such, each *mura* paying a certain fixed amount annually to the government officials. If any man was unable to pay his portion of the taxes, it had to be made up by his associates. It appears that in many cases the headmen of the *gojiu-myo* became wealthy and influential members of

society. Some of them even developed into petty lords. These men, whenever possible, allied themselves with *monbatsu* (men of good blood) from the other provinces, whose association secured for them a dignity not otherwise obtainable, and thus gave prestige to families that were originally of humble origin. In later times, under the Yamanouchi regime, the divisions known as *mura* were territorially of various sizes, according to the population of the country, to the situation of the lands in mountains or plains, or to previously existing social and political arrangements. Some *mura*, where the populations were sparse, extended over broad sections of country and possessed no real village centre. Other *mura* were restricted within narrow limits, consisting only of small collections of houses together with the adjacent fields. In some the houses were built together on one long street, and again in others they were scattered about among rice fields, and connected by mere paths along the *aze*. Thus it appears that there was no fixed rule for the size of a *mura* or for the arrangement of the houses of its inhabitants. Thus to understand the situation fully, we must not think of the *mura* as a collection of houses in one village, but rather as a territorial division of the country. The power of the *shōya* and *toshiyori* varied in different *mura*. The *gyōseikwan* and *shihōkan* were *han*-officials, not *mura*. The power of these officials up to a certain limit were exercised by the *shōya*. The head man of the *mura* was called the *shōya*, and was appointed by the *daimyō*. This office was for life and was hereditary. The family of the *shōya sama* was the most honored in the *mura*. It seems further that a man was more honored on account of his ancestors than of the land he might possess. Next to the *shōya* were the *toshiyori* (elders); these were paid in some places. There were also *gyōseikwan kori bugyō* (executive officers) and *shihōkwan* (judges). These various officials settled all the troubles of the *mura*. There were also *kumigashira*, unpaid company

chief, who looked after the lauds generally throughout the *mura*. In addition to these there were *gonin-gashira* (five men-chief) having the oversight of certain village subdivisions. They were, however, not limited in their oversight to five men, as the name would seem to imply. The office must have been derived from the headman of the *gomyo*, in the time of the *kokushi*, the number five being retained in the name while the real sphere of the office was enlarged. There were no elections in the *mura*, nor was there a *yoriai* (assembly); the *toshiyori* and *kunigashira* were elected; and an assembly each year or at the time of a family festival, or there was a part *mura*. All executive business was transacted by the various officers. In the *mura* each farmer worked the land that he had rented, but the *mura* as a whole often owned mountain lands, called *kyoyazan*. The *mura* also often owned so-called *shinden* (land of the gods), the rice from which was either made into *sake* to be used on *matsuri* occasions, or was sold in order to obtain money for the expenses of the various *matsuri*. Each *mura* had to pay a settled amount of tax in rice, and this was collected, not by the *mura* officials, but by the tax collectors of the *daimyō*.

TAX (RENT).

The tax on *honden* and *shinden* would more properly be called a rent. If the land was held directly from the *daimyō* the rent was of course paid to him; but in the cases of upper class *samurai* the rent was paid directly to them, the *daimyō* receiving none of it. The *samurai* and *gōshio* who owned *yaguchi* and *ryōchi* paid no tax to the *daimyō* for these lands. They received rent from the tenants—all of which they kept for their own use. All farmers or *keikaku* who owned land paid taxes thereon to the *daimyō*. The tenants occupying the land of a *karō* paid their rent directly to him, and he passed none of it on to

the *daimyō*. All rents were paid in rice. Even in certain places where water rice could not be produced, an amount of rice was brought in based on the amount of dry land rice that could be produced there, whether the product of the land was in fact rice or not. This latter was not true of all lands that could produce dry land rice, but only of some very fertile low lands where there was a lack of water. Thus, though the rents were paid in rice, they were based not on rice as the actual product, but on rice as the standard of measurement of fertility. For example, if a renter had rice land assessed to produce twenty *koku* of rice, he had to bring in, say, three-fifths of that amount in rice whether he produced rice or something else on the land. From some of the very mountainous districts from which it was difficult to bring rice the rent could sometimes be paid in money. The price of the lands and the amount of rent to be paid was determined in accordance with the amount of rice the land could produce. If it was very good land, the rent was high and vice versa. Neither the valuation of the land nor the rent changed with the market; these values had been settled and oftentimes continued the same for many years and even for centuries.

For example, if a piece of land ought by the estimate to give ten *koku* of rice in rent, that amount was always required, even in cases of partial failure of crops. If, however, the farmer's loss was excessive, the amount of rent required was lessened, in accordance with the law of human fairness. The amount of reduction was generally settled by the officials and the farmers before the rice was cut. If no agreement could be made beforehand, the amount of rent was decided on by the officials after the harvest. Some times a portion of the crop would be cut and threshed out in the presence of officers of the law to let them see what the yield would probably be, and according to this an average was struck for the remainder. The rent was never wholly remitted. The amount of rice which the

tenant must pay was known beforehand by both parties to the contract, and the tenant on paying the rent received his receipt for the same. There were large *kura* (store-houses) in Kōchi for the storage of the rice, and thither on set days the farmers brought their quota on horses gaily caparisoned with blue, red, and yellow trappings, and with tails tied up in long and variegated bags. The amount of rent paid on *honden* was on an average three-fifths of what the land could produce. That on *shinden* was less, averaging only two-fifths of the land's productive capacity. The tenants on the *yaguchi* of the *samurai* paid about four-fifths of the rice produced,—a heavy rent it would seem; and yet we must remember that, besides the one crop of rice, vegetables and also a crop of barley or wheat could be produced annually on the same land, and for these latter no rent was taken. If the government or *samurai* cleared up land for cultivation, the rent was determined by taking the average of the crops raised during three years. Sometimes a tenant would undertake to clear up land for cultivation on the understanding that no rent at all would be expected until after a certain number of years, greater or smaller, according to the expense of the clearing. Land owners could not at their pleasure raise their rents. If this were attempted, appeal would be made to the government. Sometimes, however, the land owners combined and raised rents, and generally the government granted its permission. In addition to the tax on rice lands, fish sold in the market were taxed (as indeed is the case to-day). This tax was first imposed by Chōsokabe Motochika. The sale of paper and of cloth for clothing was also subject to the imposition of taxes. In the *jōka* dwelling-house lands were free. The merchants as a class possessed their own houses and engaged in trade, subject to no tax at all, but, as elsewhere in Japan in olden time, they had to be very polite to the *samurai* on penalty of losing their heads and having their property

appropriated. There was further a kind of tax called *tayaku*. It consisted of compulsory work upon the water-courses or public works of various kinds or the castle. This work was done annually by those tenants who occupied the *honden*. In very early days it had been assigned to the *samurai*, but being distasteful to them their farmers were hired to do it in their stead, each man receiving as his wage one *shō* of rice per day. At first the farmers were very glad of the opportunity to so add to their incomes, but in time the pay became relatively too small for the work done and they wished to withdraw from the bargain, but were not permitted to do so. As I have just remarked, this *tayaku* was connected with the *honden* only. Elsewhere the farmers were compelled to do the work on the water-courses without any remuneration whatever.

INHERITANCE.

The general law of inheritance amongst all classes was that of primogeniture, the eldest son of a property holder inheriting all at the father's death. When a man died without an heir his land reverted to the *daimyō*. As already stated, the eldest son of a *yōshi* inherited his father's position and property, and the younger sons became *heimin*. However, if there were no sons, the husband of the eldest daughter could as *yōshi* (adopted son) inherit both rank and property. When a tenant died, the continued cultivation of the land by his children depended on the circumstances of the case, or on the will of the *kunigashira* if the land belonged to a *samurai*. However, if the children were able to do the work and pay the required rent, they generally remained in possession.

Sometimes, when the eldest child was a daughter and the sons turned out badly, the father could by permission of the government adopt a son to become the daughter's

husband and make him the heir of his estate. With regard to adoption, if a father died without having selected a *yōshi*, no one could be subsequently chosen by the family and possess himself of the privileges of adoption and the estate consequently reverted to the lord; but if a selection had been made before the father's death, it could be formally ratified, provided permission was obtained from the government before the burial took place. After the burial permission was not obtainable. Hence it sometimes happened that a man's dead body was kept for eight or ten days, awaiting the government's permission for the adoption of a *yōshi* who had been selected but not as yet formally installed.

There were no banks in Tosa, but *riyōguya* (money changers) abounded. Money could be borrowed from individuals, and lands and goods were mortgaged to obtain it. It seems, however, that money was often borrowed on the simple promise to repay, which was considered a sufficient guarantee; for among *samurai* if a man could not keep such a promise he committed *harakiri* rather than bear the disgrace of a broken bond.

Trade between Tosa and other provinces was very limited in extent, for there was a law prohibiting general exportation, and only a few articles were allowed to be sent abroad; and even in these the trade was permitted only to a chosen few. Similar restrictions conditioned importation. A few tradesmen in Osaka were permitted to send certain articles that were needed in the province, and that was all. Therefore, as was the case throughout Japan in pre-revolution days, the province of Tosa lived its own secluded life and the more readily developed a peculiar and striking individuality,—the traces of which are still so prominent in its social life and its politics.

SUMA MURA FIFTY YEARS AGO.

 BY MISS HANNAH M. BIRKENHEAD.

[Read 28th April, 1892.]

The Province of Settsu, in which Suma is situated, was under the direct rule of the *Shōgun*. The chief officers were *Shoshidai*, *Bugyō* and *Daikwan*. These were all *Hatamoto* when in Yedo. There was one *Shoshidai* (Kyoto), one *Bugyō* (Ōsaka), but many *Daikwan*. One of the last had charge of Hyōgo and Suma.

The *Daikwan's* duties were to gather rice, to settle disputes, to act as spy, and to prevent neighbouring *Daimyōs* from combining against the Tokugawa. If the *Daikwan* held his appointment directly from the *Shōgun* the rice was sent to Yedo; if from *Shoshidai*, to Kyōto; if from *Bugyō*, to Ōsaka, or to a store-house at Hyōgo to wait till a sufficient quantity had been gathered before sending away.

Suma was itself a *mura*, extending from Myōhoji River on the east to Sakai River, Harima, on the west; and from Tainahata *mura* on the north to the sea on the south. It was divided into East and West, and it is thought the original *mura* was situated in the middle. There was a street of dwellings—a continuation of the Tōkaidō—with scattered farms outside.

LAND-OWNERS.

Fifty years ago there were six great land-owners in Suma. Mayeda Sakujirō and Naoe Tōzaemon in the west, Matsuda Gimbe, Tomokuni Magozaemon, Edamitsu Magozaemon in the east, and Tomokuni Zingozaemon in the north. Mayeda was the richest. He was *Shōya* or Headman, and was allowed to wear one sword. His fame was celebrated in verse as follows:—

Saite shiworete,
Mata sakuhana wa,
Suma no Mayeda no
Kakitsubata."

(The flower which, having opened and withered, blooms again is the iris of Mayeda of Suma).

And again:—

"Suma no Mayeda no
Kakitsu no naka ni
Ayame saku to wa
Shirananda."

(We did not know the sweet-flag would grow among Mayeda's irises). Mayeda could pass from the eastern to the western boundaries of Suma without leaving his own land. The Empress Jingukogo is said to have passed through Suma on her way to Corea (202 A. D.), and to have visited his ancestor's house. When the battle of Ichi-no-Tani, fought at Suma between Genji and Heike, is represented in drama, this once famous land-owner is always among the characters personated. The irises are still flourishing in the ditch in front of Mayeda's house, but the old home has lost its glory. It is now a small tea-house kept by the latest representative of the once honoured name.

The large land-owners had no special privileges, but they were indirectly influential. They were eligible for the office of headman. This position they sometimes got

by appointment, sometimes by payment. The headman was allowed to build his house in a special style, peculiar to the *Shōya*. Several of the men who held this position became rich by cutting down and selling trees belonging to the Government, which had been placed under their care, and which the people were not permitted to touch. The *Shōya* claimed annually six *koku* of rice from the villagers. There were six or seven Elders (*Toshiyori*), but they received no remuneration. The *Shōya* and Elders alone sat in the Village Assembly and voted.

The only inhabitants of the *mura* not engaged in agriculture were fishermen, and a few *kago-kaki* (carriers).

Among present land-owners in Suma, Naoe Tōzaemon in the west, and Tomokuni and Edamitsu in the east, claim to have held their ground the longest. Lately, in East Suma, an old tombstone was unearthed, with a date of about 1,200 years ago, and the name Tomokuni Tarōzaemon.

CROPS.

The chief productions were rice, wheat, and vegetables of various kinds. Rice was cultivated from May to August, wheat from August to May, on the same fields—"ta" land. Beans were grown in summer, and *daikon*, cabbages, and other vegetables in winter—on *hatake* fields.

The most famous vegetable production of Suma—the *meibutsu*—was water-melon. It was peculiar in having red seeds, the melon of other places generally having black ones.

POSSESSION OF LAND AND RENT.

Each farmer had land in several parts of the *mura*, and took new ground as he needed it. In case of shifting, a middleman was employed, and a written account of the

transfer was exchanged by the parties concerned. The affair was reported to the *Shōya*, so that at the time of gathering rice he might know what land each farmer had. An examination was held for this purpose every spring.

The rent was about one *koku* five *to* for each *tan*, a reduction of two or three *to* being made for poor ground. The rate of rent was settled by arbitration, the people of East Suma being always more quarrelsome than those of the West.

Land could be leased for any length of time. If a tenant did not pay his rent the owner could take the ground back, but this was a rare occurrence.

TEMPLE LANDS.

There were four temples in Suma: Genkōji, Myokōji, Jōtokuji, and Suma-dera. The last was the largest, and owned two *chō* of land. All had received their ground from the Shōgunate. Genkōji had many members, who made it rich with their offerings. The temple lands could not be taxed. All these were taken by Government at the Restoration except the grounds occupied by temple buildings, which are still free of taxation.

Suma-dera was founded by Hideyori, the son of the great Taiko Hideyoshi. Its priests had formerly political as well as religious influence, and were treated with great respect by the people.

After the Restoration the farmers gave four *tan* of land to Jōtokuji, and three *tan* to Myokōji.

Expenses for repairing the temple were drawn from the central temple in Yedo.

The lands were originally cultivated by priests, but afterwards by hired labourers.

The priests had no right to sell or mortgage their lands, but they sometimes did so unlawfully. They could let ground to farmers, who paid for it at the usual rate.

TAXES.

Before the Restoration taxes were paid according to the estimated producing power of the land, partly in money, but chiefly in rice. The *Daikwan* made an examination and then gave a written statement of the amount due to the Government. (Appended is a translation of one of these documents.) The *Daikwan* could not be oppressive, as he had to consult with the *Shōya* and Elders of the *mura*. In time of calamity the Government excused those who were not able to pay their taxes.

The people seem to have been peaceable and diligent, and there has never been any great struggle in Suma.

Now, taxes are paid for the land itself, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ % of its value, without regard to crops.

RECLAIMED LAND.

There was land without owners which was cultivated by persons who took the crops and paid the taxes. At the Restoration the ground became the property of those persons. One such place was *Tsuki-mi-Yama*, which now belongs partly to Government and partly to the people.

When the Shōgunate was abolished, the extent of land allotted to each person was changed by Government order. This was formerly settled by *Shōya*, who did it rather arbitrarily.

FENCING AND DRAINAGE.

When two persons wished to divide their lands by fences, each man made one on his own ground, and a free

path, one *shaku* wide, was left between. Both men were afterwards responsible for the keeping of the intermediate roadway in good condition.

Suma has a dry, sandy soil. Its fields were formerly supplied with water by means of ponds near the sea, and wells on the mountain side. When the ponds or wells got out of order they were restored at the expense of the Government. In these days the farmers themselves have to pay for such repairs.

Near Mayeda's house is a famous well called "Sugaido," the name having been given by Prince Sugawara Michizone. In winter, the water of this well keeps a certain level, but in summer it overflows, and helps to irrigate the fields.

The place where Suma railway station now stands was in olden days covered by the sea.

DISASTERS.

The disasters were generally caused by storms or drought. The ones well remembered are :—

Meiji, 16th Year.—Drought, which ruined rice and vegetables.

" 17th " Too much rain, making wheat rotten.

" 19th " Storm.

" 22nd " Drought.

" 24th " Storm.

The old people say it was much the same in their younger days. The big storm of 1891, the greatest during the last seventy years, did much damage in Suma. Government had to help the farmers, but such help is unusual now.

In entering Suma from the east, there is an aqueduct over which the river Tenjo runs. Sometimes the *mura* is partly flooded by that river.

SUCCESSION.

The eldest son of a family was generally the sole heir. When he came into possession it was customary for him to take his father's name. In this way, the head of one family would have the same personal and surnames for many generations. There was no law about succession except that it must be reported to the *Shōya*. It was not usual to make a will.

In regard to succession, women had no rights. When a father had a daughter but no son, the property was still kept in the father's name. If a son were adopted and made heir, he changed his name for that of his adoptive father.

If the eldest son's conduct was very bad, it was not an uncommon thing for the second son to take his position.

The heir had to pay all the debts of his ancestor, no matter how small the inheritance or how great the debts.

THE SUMA OF TO-DAY.

Land in Suma is now rapidly rising in value. The place is only five miles by rail from Kobe, and is becoming noted as a health resort. Wealthy foreigners are leasing ground on the hill sides or by the sea, and building country homes, where they can enjoy the fresh breezes and the sweet scent of the spruces, and from where they can watch the sea-birds flitting across the stormy Straits of Akashi, as in the good old days of the Tokugawa, when the people sang :—

“Awaji shima
Kayō chidori no
Naku koye ni
Ikuye nezamenu
Suma no sekimori,”

(The guards of the Suma barrier hear in their dreams the cries of the sea-birds going to and returning from the Island of Awaji).

NOTES.

Ta=grain land.

Hatake=vegetable gardens.

Aratame=changed, as to crops.

Shinden=newly opened land.

Okoshikaeshi=tilled ground.

Matsu-goki-tachi=pine trees and bushes.

Magusaba=pasture.

Honhata=upland fields.

Hatakata=hill-side.

Take-ko-tachi=forest of bamboo and other trees.

Matsu-ki-tachi=pine trees-

TRANSLATION.

The Fixed Taxes of *Ushidoshi*. For ten years from *Ushi* to *Inu*. Total amount 1,020 *koku*, 6 *to*, 4 *sho*.

Higashi Suma mura,
Yabegun, Settsu-no-kuni,

TA LAND.

Items.

930 *koku*, 9 *to*, 3 *sho*, 7 *go*. From this amount the following are taken out:

103 *koku*, 2 *to*, 3 *sho*, 3 *go*,=ground taken up by houses, ditches, dikes and wells;

2 *to*, 5 *sho*, 6 *go*=places where sand is deposited.

Net Amount, 827 *koku*, 4 *to*, 4 *sho*, 8 *go*.

Items.

Amount 801 *koku*, 4 *go* (=the value of the land measured by rice).

HONDEN.

596 *koku*, 8 *to*, 8 *sho*=tax.

The rate is 7 *shaku*, 4 *bu*, 5 *rin*, 2 *mo* (that is about $\frac{25}{100}$).

Amount, 6,970 *go*, Nennen Shinden.

3,700 *go*=tax5. 308 r.

Amount, 11. 151 *go* Mi.

5.120 *go*=tax4. 572 r.

Amount, 1. 182 *go*, "Inu," Aratame Shinden.

542 *go*=tax.4. 585 r.

Amount, 102 *go* "Inu, Mi." Shinden.

46 *go*=tax.4. 500 r.

Amount, 290 *go* "Mi, Hitsuji, Tori," Shinden.

181 *go*=tax.4. 500 r.

Amount, 416 *go* "Mi," Okoshikayeshi.

187 *go*=tax.....4.500 r.

Amount, 222 *go*. "Mi, Hitsuji, Tori" Shinden.

88 *go*=tax.....3.964 r.

Amount, 1.227 *go*. Last "I," Matsu *gaki tachi* okoshikaeshi.

128 *go*=tax.....1.000 r.

Amount, 3.549 *go*, "I" Okoshikayeshi.

218 *go*=tax600 r.

Amount, 1.335 *go*, Last "I" Magusaba okoshikaeshi.

40 *go*=tax300 r.

The whole amount of *ta* land is 607 *koku*, 7 *sho*=tax.

HATAKE LAND.

89 *koku*, 7 *to*, 3 *go*. In this there is 181 *go* of *ta* changed into *hatake* land. From the amount the following are deducted :—

120 *go*—for land on which the village storehouse stands.

32 *go*—for sand deposits, erosive banks, and land broken by the river.

Net Amount, 89 *koku*, 2 *to*, 8 *sho*, 1 *go*.

Items.

Amount, 70,588 <i>go</i> . Honhata.	
38.516 <i>go</i> =tax	5.4572 r.
Amount, 2,900 <i>go</i> . Shinyajichi.	
1,357 <i>go</i> =tax	6.493 r.
Amount, 520 <i>go</i> . Neunen Shinden.	
276 <i>go</i> =tax	5.808 r.
Amount, 679 <i>go</i> . "Inu," aratame Shinden.	
311 <i>go</i> =tax	4.584 r.
Amount, 1,219 <i>go</i> . "Mi, Hitsuji, Tori." Shinden.	
484 <i>go</i> =tax	3.970 r.
Amount, 152 <i>go</i> . "Inu, Hitsuji," Shinden.	
53 <i>go</i> =tax	3.500 r.
Amount, 131 <i>go</i> . "I"—The old "ta" land changed into <i>hatake</i> .	
46 <i>go</i> =tax	3.500 r.
Amount, 247 <i>go</i> . "Tori" Okoshikayeshi.	
842 <i>go</i> =tax	3.500 r.
Amount, 2,555 <i>go</i> . "Tori, U," Okoshikayeshi.	
824 <i>go</i> =tax	3.225 r.
Amount, 327 <i>go</i> . "Mi" Okoshikayeshi.	
105 <i>go</i> =tax	3.217 r.
Amount, 3,110 <i>go</i> . "Tori" Okoshikayeshi.	
933 <i>go</i> =tax	3.000 r.
Amount, 1,895 <i>go</i> . "Uma" Okoshikayeshi.	
474 <i>go</i> =tax	2.500 r.
Amount, 181 <i>go</i> . Last "I" Hatakata okoshikayeshi.	
36 <i>go</i> =tax	2.000 r.
Amount, 610 <i>go</i> . Last "I" Take kotachi okoshi- kayeshi.	
61 <i>go</i> =tax	1.000 r.
Amount, 2,822 <i>go</i> . Last "I" Magusaba okoshi- kayeshi.	
85 <i>go</i> =tax	3.000 r.
The whole amount of <i>hatake</i> land is 44 <i>koku</i> , 4 <i>to</i> , 3 <i>go</i> = tax.	

The tax on the best land is 651.473 *go*.

Amount 3 *koku*, 4 *to*, 6 *sho*, 6 *go*, all Shinden, in the same mura. From this 336 *go* is deducted as allowance for land broken by river and for sand deposits. Remaining amount 3,180 *go*.

Items.

Amount 2,566 *go* Honbata.

642 *go*=tax..... 2.502 r.

Amount 222 *go*. Last 'I' Matsuki tachi okoshikayeshi.

22 *go*=tax..... 1.000 r.

Amount 342 *go*. Okoshikayeshi.

20 *go*=tax..... 585 r.

Whole amount of taxes=684 *go*. 'Ta' land. Shinden of same mura.

Amount 835 *go*.

450 *go*=tax..... 5.389 r.

Total amount of taxes for Shinden, 1,194 *go*.

The total amount of taxes in rice is 652,607 *go*. 612,499 *go* is to be paid in silver; 490,108 *go* is to be paid in rice. Besides these there are:—

38 *momme*, 5 *bu*, silver

The Government forest grass tax;

615 *go*, rice.

Expenses for lodging of post horses;

2050 *go*, rice.

Expenses for nobles' 'kago' bearers;

153 *momme*, 7 *bu*, 4 *rin*, silver.

Expenses for Government store-houses.

FORESTS.—FIVE PLACES.

The area of land is 7½ *chō*, 9 *tan*, 7 *se*, 14 *bu*.

Total Rice—655,272 *go*—Silver, 192 *momme*, 2 *bu*, 4 *rin*.

The above being fixed, the farmers and tenants must meet and pay their taxes before the 15th of December.

(Signed) Ishibara Shiozaburō. (*Daikwan*).

October, 9th year of Kansei.





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